

# Maclean's

THE  
RISING CRISIS  
IN UNIVERSITIES

## SOUTH AFRICA'S RAGE

THE AFTERMATH OF A BLOODSTAINED  
ELECTION



President  
Frederik Willem de Klerk;  
Anglican Archbishop  
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## SOUTH AFRICA'S VIOLENT RAGE



*In its weakest electoral performance in 31 years, South Africa's National Party lost parliamentary seats to the left and the right but retained power with a slim majority. To protest their exclusion from the polls, up to three million blacks staged the biggest strike in the country's history, leading to a violent police response that left as many as 20 people dead.*

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*Ringing from Quebecer Denys Arcand's satiric Jesus of Montreal to Albertine Anne Wheeler's nostalgic Bye Bye Blues, a number of new Canadian movies display unusual ambition and maturity. Now on view at Toronto's Festival of Festivals, they tap and soothe tensions of passion and politics.*

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# A Last Chance For Change

South Africa's acting president, Frederik de Klerk, represents that country's last chance to bring about fundamental change without a civil war between the politically and socially excluded black majority and the ruling white minority. De Klerk's traditionally dominant National Party won reelection in last month's general election in elections of blacks, who are not allowed to vote, staged a nationwide strike and police took savage action against demonstrators. But the NP's majority was sharply reduced by significant gains achieved by the liberal Democratic Party and the right-wing Conservative Party. De Klerk says that he wants to eliminate apartheid over a five-year period. But he refuses to give blacks the one-person-one-vote system that they are demanding because of his fear that as doing so, he would transform whites into an unpopular, permanent opposition group.

The acting president faces a real danger of a parliamentary deadlock, led by either the right or the left, if he moves decisively in any direction of the race issue. But he has no choice other than to take action. The alternative is guaranteed chaos and even greater international isolation. Blacks will have to be involved in the exercise of power, and they will have to be given the vote. But there may be room for compromise on the way in which the voting system is constructed. One-person-one-vote is not the only, or even the fairest, polling option. Some faces of proportional representation, along with a relinquishment of parliamentary constituencies, may transpire while still they can continue to exercise enough power to protect their legitimate interests and satisfy the essential black demand for equal voting privileges. De Klerk and all of South Africa have everything to lose by not trying.

But first, as Senator William John Bennett (who wrote this week's main cover story) commented, the president has to demonstrate that he can control the police, who so clearly showed the ugly face of white power on voting day.



Violence during the South African election campaign. Blacks will have to be involved.

*Kevin W. Doyle*

## McGraw-Hill

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## LETTERS

### "LUTHEROUS STATEMENT"

I am surprised that *Whelan's* model prize, in the July 31 issue, such a laudable statement to that effect by Christine Overall, a philosophy professor at Queen's University. "Even if we have decided that a fetus does have a right to life, it does not follow that it has the right to occupy a woman's uterus. I believe that no human has the right to use another person's body" ("The debate about life," *Covered*). Surely Overall is aware of how a fetus "gets into" a woman's uterus, or is she laboring under the misguided impression that somehow a fetus somehow "hatches" from a woman's uterus? I am sure that she would be surprised to learn that the uterus becomes a *superorganism*? It is, long before she is read anything, to be tedious, and that from a philosophy professor.

Joan Loring,  
Therapist

Of all the arguments I have heard in favor of abstinence, I think Christine Overall's are the most stupid. Where, may I ask, is the fetus supposed to spend the first nine months-of-life? There is no other purpose for having a uterus that I know of.

Environ Monit Assess (2008) 142:111–120  
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#### FOREIGN OWNERSHIP

**B**ased on your story on foreign takeovers, I find this post. "Capitalists are still firmly in control of this economy" (Taka-san's letter). BusinessSpecial Report, Aug. 28) What rubbish. The article tended to dwell on US participation in the economy. What about Hong Kong Japanese and European influences? You would do well to compare our degree of total foreign ownership to that of other countries. The reality is that control of our economy is often exercised from outside the country. Under the Free Trade Agreement, we seem headed for total domination.

Peter McHale,  
Edinburgh, Ont

### AN INDIGESTIBLE MEAL

Our witty Allan Rothbergman, in his amusing column "A confused agenda for the selling of the country" (Aug. 14) complains of the tedious visits to Canada of the nation's "royals" but overlooks the purpose of these apparently senseless penitentiaries. Surely Dr. Robt., in his wisdom, remembers that, when the Queen herself pays a visit to North America, the point is always emphasized in her speeches that she is Queen of Canada. This is obviously intended to be not only a statement of fact but a loud hint to any foreign power with potential claims to swallow Canada that the mere



**Pressure baby:** invader of the uterus.

would prove indigestible, since Britain and the Commonwealth would automatically become enemies to the proposed league. So, Dr. Roth, it would seem that the monarchy is still a subtle political force, and perhaps even the visiting princelings are a necessary propaganda weapon.

Ernst Sellhorn-St. Clara  
Suite 201

We've always turned first to the back page of *Newsweek*, wondering what Alma Fotheringham might be up to on the web. Usually, he's screaming, but with his columns about the Duke and Duchess of York, he went too far. Andrew and Fergie are not politicians to be criticized so well. They were the guests at this country, invited here because Canadians were happy to have them. Further, as you well know, they are not permitted to answer back. Fotheringham's gratuitous slights went way out of line.

Key and Bell Runway,  
Bismarck, Ont.

### MISTAKEN IDENTITY

Just to correct the record, in the photograph on page 36 of "The Icons of war" (Cover Sept. 4), the officer at the left, who might have been going: Winston Churchill and Bernard Montgomery the benefit of his counsel, obviously to their delighted approval, were Gen. H. D. G. Crerar, commander of the First Canadian Army, not Marshal Alan Brooke, as captioned.

Don Scholick,  
Treasurer

Letters are edited and may be condensed. Writers should specify a new address and telephone number. Mail addresses should be given in the Editor's Mailbox magazine. Mailbox Number 100, 300 Bay St., Toronto, Ont. M5H 1A7.

## PASSAGES

**1992:** George Thompson, 65, one of the most widely read authors of the 20th century and the creator of the low-price, smoke-smoking Pura delicias cigarette brand, died of cancer in his Los Angeles home. Thompson, known as the "King of the Cigarettes," wrote more than 100 novels, including 14 suspense thrillers. Mr. Groh, 70, who has been blind since age 47, has written 100 worldwide sales of more than 1 million copies. He has lived the hard life more than a dozen times. Mr. Groh graduated philosophy from Simon Fraser University in British Columbia in 1950 but was rejected for a job because of his blindness. He later became a writer. In 1981 he was named a member of the Order of Canada.



**MARRIED:** Former Swedish tennis star Björn Borg, 33, and Italian pop singer Luciana Berio, 38, in a civil ceremony in Milan, Italy, performed by that city's mayor.

**OBITUARY:** Former William Abernethy Ogilvie, 83, acclaimed as one of Canada's best watercolorists, after a stroke in hospital near his Toronto home. The works of Ogilvie, an official Canadian war artist in the Second World War, form part of the Museum of Contemporary Art in Toronto, the National Gallery of Canada and the Art Gallery of Ontario's collections and have been exhibited in major galleries around the world.

**DEED:** Annie Elizabeth Bennett, 92, the widow of former H.C. Social Credit premier W. A. C. Bennett and the mother of former premier Bill Bennett, at her home in Kelowna, B.C.

# OPENING NOTES

Brian Peckford gets a new start, Jiri Hrdina puts the past behind him, and Princess Anne issues a challenge

## SPORTING CHALLENGES

Princess Anne is clearly no shrinking violet. On the heels of the announcement that she is formally separating from her husband, Capt. Mark Phillips, several associates say that the princess royal might seek an executive post with the International Olympic Committee. Anne was a member of the British riding team at Montreal's 1976 Summer Games and she is currently the president of the British Olympic Association. And, entering, to some not colleagues, Anne would like to become the president of a large-scale umbrella organization, the Association of Summer Olympic Federations. But that post is currently



Princess Anne, ready for a contest

held by Prince Nikola, an Italian who is one of the most powerful men in international sport. He is under fire as president of the International Amateur Athletic Federation, which voted to strip Ben Jonsson of two world records after the Canadian sprinter confessed that he had taken steroids—even though track officials failed to detect illegal drug use when he set the marks. Many Canadian critics who questioned Nikola's decision to allow delegates at an last meeting in Barcelona to vote on Jonsson's fate simply by applauding that announcement. And earlier this year, Nikola resigned as chairman of the Italian Track Federation—after accusations that someone had tampered with the results of the men's longjump event at a 1987 event under his jurisdiction. Now, he may face another challenger: a determined princess.

## Selling scandal on a shoestring

A Halifax magazine with the self-appointed mandate to expose the misdeeds of prominent New Scotians has branched out and targets other local two years in existence. To that end, the lavishly produced *Frank* launched its October edition last week, took back all its stock factors of controversy in a new series of prime notices. Rick Wilson, *Frank*'s co-founder David Bentley acknowledged that the initial run of 3,000 copies contained no sensational disclosures. Still, added Bentley, "That was comic, and we will keep grinding out the issues until we get the contacts." In the meantime, the low-budget mag



Frank founders Bentley (left), Dutch Corneil and Lyndia Watrous in a self-appointed mandate

magazine Harry Steele in 1985, that Steele quickly moved that position, becoming the chance of survival for a shortening operation with a limited journalistic goal: affecting the considerable

## A QUESTION OF FITNESS

Greece's parliament is investigating Andreas Papandreu's rule in a huge embroiled scandal—leading to rumors in Athens that the former prime minister may try to avoid any legal changes by pleading illness. But a friend of Papandreu's—who taught economics at Toronto's York University from 1969 to 1974—contests that his old colleague is healthy. Said his Canadian friend, who requested anonymity: "I was swimming with him in the Mediterranean a few days ago, and he told me he was feeling well." Good health can be a liability.



Petra Peckford • Jiri Hrdina • newspaper columnists after a rocky start

## SECOND CHANCE FOR A NEW CAREER

Brian Peckford's journalistic career got off to a rocky start this year when the *St. John's Sunday Telegram* dropped the former Newfoundland premier after Peckford had written only one weekly column. According to *Telegram* deputy editor Brian Gosses, the retired premier's column lacked "the sought-after government" that the newspaper had been seeking. But last month, Peckford received a second chance: if the fourth estate uses one of his former employees offered

him a new forum in which to air his views. Peckford, who was Peckford's press secretary, and that he had been too old to be a regular contributor to the *Telegram*, a weekly tabloid newspaper that is distributed free to 5,000 homes along Newfoundland's Atlantic Peninsula. Peckford told Marston that Peckford will write columns on such issues as local politics and the environment in journalism, looking to the future in other the initial approach.



The Phoenix in action, taping and pinning bait

## On the road to Moscow

The Calgary Flames have an alternative to the home-land, United States, that mark the approach of another National Hockey League season last week, the Stanley Cup champions embarked on a grueling, 19-day tour of continental Europe and the Soviet Union. The 30-member contingent, including 21 players, two team doctors and a dental took along with hockey staples as 17 years of stories, 284 tricks and 430 rolls of tape. At the same time, several players including goaltender Rick Wamsley tried to prevent against consumer goods shortages in the Soviet Union by packing such items as jars of peanut butter and rolls of toilet paper. Before opening a six-game exhibition series against such clubs as Moscow's Red Army squad, the Flames played twice in Prague. And there, flame center Jiri Hrdina prepared for a game against the Czech national team—a squad that he once captained—with a new teammate: former Soviet star right wing Sergei Makarov. That pairing—in a city that was occupied by Soviet tanks in 1968—was strictly business, according to Hrdina. He added: "We're professionals. Today has nothing to do with what happened 20 years ago." In the end, friends are distinguished from foes solely on the basis of team sweaters.

## How to have a good visit

Solidarity leader Leah Wilson has just visited the United States and he has said that he wants to ask for money and to cash-strapped Poland. But at Washington, D.C., administration officials say that the federal budget deficit will prevent George Bush from exceeding the \$120-million aid package that he promised in Warsaw last July. Still, Wilson's 17-year-old son clearly profited from his visit to the United States. Declared Steven Wilson, who spent the summer in Wilson House, Pa., learning English: "How beautiful the girls are, and how good in the beer."

## POACHERS PURSUE THE WALRUS

The meat-rich walrus is for food, and, in recognition of that traditional pursuit, U.S. and Canadian authorities restrict walrus hunting to natives. Now, many wildlife experts have identified a new threat to the Arctic mammal: ivory poachers. According to Glenn Hensley, a spokesman for the Government's World Wildlife Fund, representatives from 300 nations meeting in London next month are likely to vote to ban the trade in elephant ivory. And U.S. wildlife officials in Anchorage, Alaska, say that traders are already offering local hunters money for walrus tusks. Said Hensley: "Poachers rarely go away after a ban takes effect. They look for a new supply." In the immediate ivory trade, the lure of the North is growing stronger.

## DEATH WATCH AT THE NEWS

Quebec's publisher of the *Montréal Daily News* on March 10, 1986—and declared that he was prepared to spend \$15 million during the first two to three years to make the *News* a daily language newspaper a success. But the bright idea may not live to celebrate its second birthday. Wilson



Wilson

said Marston's recently that he will add the newspaper by Christmas of his annual circulation figure to not improve. He added: "I am not sure if three good money after his first months say that the club's sales increase between 35,000 and 20,000 copies daily—or will before production sales I came out at least 60,000 copies every year after starting. As a result, my interest in the *News* is at the moment as they are not preparing for the present writing the story of the newspaper's brief existence."



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**30 DAY Challenge**

## ANOTHER VIEW



# A world-class exit from the fast lane

BY CHARLES GORDON

**C**onductors outside Toronto chuckled when its media began discussing chaos in the city's inner Core. Crime. Pollution. Traffic. High prices. A shortage of affordable housing. Urrgh. All that big-city stuff. Something was wrong with Toronto, Toronto suddenly discovered.

The first reports of an outflow began only a few months ago. Now, all of a sudden, you can hardly open a newspaper without seeing another story about some more people leaving Toronto for other places. It is a world-class exit.

Like so many things that happen to Toronto, it echoes something that is going on south of the border. In the past year, more than a quarter of a million people have moved out of California. The number leaving this year is almost 60,000 higher than that of two years ago. Motivated by unemployment and crime, Californians are moving, many of them to the northwest—Washington and Oregon—but some to states as far away as Texas, Florida and Arkansas.

Where are Torontonians moving? To kinder and gentler places, if you'll pardon the expression. The people who are leaving Toronto don't like the fast lane anymore. They don't like the cars. They don't like the congestion. They are worried about these health years ago, they came to Toronto because they wanted to reach the top. Now, they have decided that the top is not worth reaching. So they are going beyond the suburbs. They are going west. They are going to Peterborough and Kingston and Owen Sound—they are going to Halifax and Victoria and Regina.

If there was something at Toronto's troubles, it has stopped in Halifax and Victoria and Regina. The first Torontonians are beginning to arrive. More are expected, and the fear is that they will bring some of their erstwhile home's hard-driving lifestyle with them.

Charles Gordon is a columnist with The Ottawa Citizen.

*Rid of the slower-moving types who only clogged things up, Toronto's honkers and tailgaters will have the city to themselves*

them, there is terror at the thought of Victoria becoming full of expressways and restaurant critics.

But early indications are that it will not happen. Descriptions of the first phases of the world-class exit portray a breed of expatriate Torontonians who are looking out to conquer but to slow down. It is a nice thought—nice-lane-cruiser, cozy-beazy. Torontonians' issues with those fast Toronto highways, gridlock, grime, lawless and friendly communities where there is an eat, rush hour and people are hostile. Those of us who live in communities like that—and of course Ottawa—is certainly one—prepare to extend a hearty welcome to ex-Torontonians, asking as they leave their cars parked at home and don't start wanting that their children be taught accounting in four-year-old kindergarten. Perhaps a nuclear, more peaceful nation will be the result. The only thing is...

Well, the only thing is what Toronto becomes after all the people who hate traffic and the red nose leave Toronto. If the process of the exodus, the only people left in Toronto will be people who like traffic and do not need. There are people like that. They are what's wrong with Toronto and every other great city,

and the world. They honk, tailgate, break into lanes, get stuck and give them. They push their children, their selves and their hoodies. They honk and honk. They drive up the pace of honking. Now, they and only they will be left in Toronto—they and the poor tailgaters who can't afford to move out. Rid of the slower-moving types who only clogged up the fast lane, the honkers and tailgaters will have the city to themselves.

And that, the horrible thought continues, means that the honkers and tailgaters, having opted to stay, will run the country, to an even greater extent than they run it now. We all know that Toronto runs the country, even those of us who live in Ottawa, where people are paid fairly large sums to pretend they run the country. Toronto is the business centre, the media centre. Toronto sets the style for the rest of Canada. Think of the style it will set now.

Those who run from the top are leaving the top to somebody else. They say, in some instances, think it is now possible to get to the top without going through Toronto on the way. In a story entitled "Harried Torontonians swaggar arrive headless for headless," The Globe and Mail's special section, about Peter Livingston is thinking he can do it all right in Halifax, with computer and fax and maybe a couple of visits a year to Toronto keeping him in touch. That, of course, was the dream a few years ago when the term "electronic cottage" was on every lip. The computer and its communication software would free us from the office, free us to live and work wherever we pleased.

The dream had a hard go of it initially. It was not that people were unable to work outside the office, it was that bosses didn't much care for the idea, once they had seen it in action. They told their workers when they could see them. And the workers found the electronic cottage was ill-equipped to allow them to chase in meetings and play the kind of office politics that would enable them to merge into the fast lane. They got the electronic cottages on the electronic cottage and scattered back to the office.

Perhaps this new generation of ex-surburbans will find what they are looking for. Many of them seem to be seeking even their electronic cottage, once they had seen it in action, and taking up new careers and new jobs in their new cities. They deserve happiness. But if they find it, they will leave a gap behind.

It is not pleasant to consider it, but face it we must. There will be empty offices in Toronto. Somebody will have to fill them. As the world-class exit gathers speed, however, it can get onto the 401, there will be empty tables in cafe restaurants in Toronto. There will be empty classrooms, unlined cellular phones. All of which can mean only one thing: it will be abandoned upon Canada with the right answers to most of the super problems and more to Toronto. To Toronto. It is time to take the wrong lanes. No one there: you guide, slow-moving, not-so-very-athletic Canadians; you in the right-hand lane, going a steady 100 km/h your country needs you.



# Road show for reform

A proposed UI overhaul plays to pans

Outside Ottawa's Parliament Hill, about 100 ordinary Canadians paraded against a backdrop of glowing banners and loudly strident Toronto radio with shopping bags. Representing church groups, social service organizations and labor unions, the protesters delivered speeches and handed out pamphlets calling on the federal government to abandon a planned overhaul of its \$23-billion unemployment insurance system. But few of the 400-odd protesters who congregated last week's protest stopped to listen to the demonstrators. And inside the hotel, where critics of the proposal had gathered, a Canadian committee that politicians in Ottawa are statutorily ignoring their views. So, Linda Trecy, president of the Metropolitan Toronto and York Region Council. "This government is not really interested in listening from those who are affected by this legislation," she added that the law, if passed, will lead to "more people using our 345 food banks, more people unable to keep their homes."

Most of the other witnesses who appeared before the committee during the first of three weeks of cross-Canada public hearings expressed similar views. In Sudbury, Ont., Leo Greer, the director of the 90-60-60-60 provincial wing of the steelworkers' union, criticized the government for proposing to pay \$1.3 billion from unemployment benefits by tightening eligibility requirements and shortening the length of time in which claimants can receive cheques. "Deborah Girard," he said, "is the bill as a wholesale attack on the rights of workers."

But, there were no indications that the government will change the legislation. Said Conservative MP William Schmalzer, one of seven Tories on the 11-member committee, on the opening day of hearings: "If we hear a good idea, we will make an amendment to the bill. But all we have heard so far is a bunch of rhetoric."

In Ottawa, government spokesmen said that they were neither surprised nor worried by the opposition to the bill. "Cutting it benefits is a bit like raising taxes," said a senior official in the employment department, who requested anonymity. "There is no point looking for a public consensus in favor of the changes because you are never going to get one. You simply go ahead and do it." He added that bureaucrats in the department have long wanted to overhaul the system and that they are grateful to Employment Minister Barbara McGough for taking up their cause. "For 18 years, no minister was able to get it reformed through cabinet and caucus, let alone Parliament," he said. "This time, the government is serious."

To a large extent, the Tories' attitude is a consequence of timing. Introduced on Nov. 21, 1986, they do not have to call another election until 1992. Even so, federal officials are following the committee's deliberations on the unemployment bill closely. In Sudbury, on the opening day of the 13-city hearings, four government aides—including two members of McGough's own staff—were on hand to answer questions from the committee and report back to Ottawa on the proceedings.

Occasionally, the ministerial aides appeared to pre-empt the MPs on the committee. In



Unemployed in Halifax: after 10 years, a serious challenge to the system

Sudbury, Schmalzer said that the panel would consider a request from a local Indian band to have eligibility periods for natives on the unemployment rates on their reserves. Under the current proposals, natives who wish to collect benefits would have to wait the same number of qualifying weeks as residents of the surrounding regions, even though the poverty rate on reserves is often significantly higher than in nearby communities. But a senior policy adviser to McGough quickly dismissed the proposal. Speaking off the record, he told Maclean's that the measure would be "a disincentive for natives to work."

In fact, social experts say that the existing

system does need to be changed. In 1986, a federal commission on unemployment insurance headed by Montreal consultant George Forget advised Ottawa to improve job opportunities and extend special benefits in regions of high unemployment in part of a plan to save \$3 billion. During the same year, a provincial inquiry in Newfoundland concluded that the current system was a "bureaucratic nightmare." Written by economist Douglas Blais, the inquiry's report said that unemployment insurance had become an economic memory in rural Newfoundland and that many workers remained in their jobs only in fear of not being able to qualify for benefits.

Both Forget and Blais, however, have criticized the Tories' proposed reforms, although for different reasons. Forget claims that the changes are discriminatory because people in areas of low unemployment, such as Toronto, will have to work longer than Canadians elsewhere to qualify for benefits. Blais, who

while, said that the proposals do little more than restrict access to benefits, rather than correcting many of the system's deeper flaws. Despite those complaints, however, government officials here said that they are prepared to see dissent when the bill first goes up in the House of Commons, later that fall to ensure that Parliament approves the changes in time for them to take effect on Jan. 1. McGough's card, it seems, may already be made up.

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CANADA

## Gambling and guns

Casinos and bingo games divide Indian bands

**T**he defence in Anthony Laughey's case was good-looking, but chillingly clear. The 43-year-old former newspaper owner Laughey's 1983s International casino, a 24-hour-a-day gambling haven tucked inside the legal on man's land of a Mohawk Indian reserve that straddles the Canada-United States border near Cornwall, Ont., 370 km southwest of Montreal. There is a hotel here in the winter over the street in his office. Ten 44-47 mm. rifles line against a wall. Last July, seven employees leveled the weapons at about 100 FBI agents and New York state troopers, forcing them to flee as an attempt to seize the casino's slot machines. Now, Laughey says, fellow Indians of the Akwesasne 80-100 Mohawk band who are opposed to the growing influence of gambling on the reserve will accept the same response. Declared Laughey: "They can protect every day. But if they attack my property, we will defend it."

A similarly defiant mood is evident at several other casinos and bingo-village bingo halls on the reserve. And among the reserve's 5,500 residents, the potent combination of guns, money

and Indian pride has produced a growing sense of alarm. Since 1984, when the first bingo hall opened, gambling has created 600 jobs on the reserve. But it has also brought animosities of Mafia influence, an armed force of self-styled Mohawk Warriors who operate beyond the

**Gun-carrying Warriors' protect their bosses from white police and fellow Mohawks**

control of elected band councils, and mounting violence. "Last month," said Douglas George, 34, the anti-gambling editor of the Akwesasne *Niwe* weekly newspaper, "we were very close to all-out war. Violence there is acute indeed still. It can only get worse."

After U.S. authorities raided several casinos

on July 20, a force of 30 Warriors blocked roads overnight, leading to a 19-day stand-off with police. Since then, some Akwesasne residents appear to have taken the law into their own hands. Several cars have been burned, men beaten, and a canoe firestorm has been set out. And last month, a mob of residents opposed to gambling threatened to burn Laughey's hall but were deterred by armed guards. Instead, the mob set fire to the Lucky Knight, a smaller casino under construction nearby. Moreover, efforts to negotiate a settlement between gambling opponents and the casino owners broke down early this month.

At the 6,500-member Akwesasne Reserve south of Montreal, several Mohawk residents defied a December, 1986, band referendum that reached plans to open a \$3.5-million high-stakes bingo hall and proceeded with construction. The Super Bingo Hall is expected to open by Sept. 24, under the protection of local Warriors. Last week, Chief Joseph Norton, head of the elected band council, warned that reserve residents would barricade highways leading to the bingo hall. But he discounted the risk of violence. "We're not going to see anything killing anybody for."

But at the Akwesasne-Skagway reserve, the huge profits available to bingo hall and casino owners have kindled an atmosphere of free-wheeling defiance. At the four-year-old Mohawk Bingo Palace, promoter and proprietor Guilford White, 46, who's won \$1.5 million in \$9 million a year from Canadian and American

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pitmen, playing for top prizes of as much as \$90,000—usually \$200 times the prize offered by regulated bingos in Ontario, N.Y., 250 km southwest of the reserve. Dressed as a lone-gunner opencasket that under an off-white linen and sporting a heavy gold bracelet, the former Washington D.C.-based arms agent displayed the opulence of Mohawk traditions as a "phoney Indian bend-and-break ballist." Between pulls on a cigar, he compared Michael Mitchell, the anti-gambling chief of the reserve's Casino Unit, to Fidel Castro. Ho Chi Minh and Maoism Goddard.

At Tony's, the second take is impossible to tally: Laughing destroys the casino's daily transaction records on paper shredder. But Laughing said that he has already managed his \$700,000 investment—and indirectly earned from smuggling American cigarettes into Canada—three times over. For one thing, the casino's location on the reserve means that it is exempt from state income tax.

According to their critics, the highly profitable gambling halls may also have attracted the attention of organized crime. Indeed, White acknowledged last week that one of four Americans who together invested \$2.4 million in his bingo hall, had "anonymous connections." White said that after he learned recently of the man's



Self-styled Mohawk Warrior 'sovereignty'

unlawful associations he paid him more than \$2.4 million to withdraw from the partnership. But newspaper editor George said that he warned White publicly in 1994 that the Las Vegas investor had three times been released a gambling licence in Nevada.

But it is the Warriors whose armed presence has most alarmed opponents of the casinos.

The roughly 50 young men openly acknowledge that they are involved in the cigarette-smuggling business. But they deny that they are on the payroll of the casino owners. Warrior spokesman Louis Thompson, for one, insisted that the group defends the casinos because of principle, not profit. Said Thompson: "We are defending the sovereignty of our people." But on the Canadian side of the reserve, resident Barbara Barnes offered a different view. Said Barnes: "The Warriors are smugglers. They are not protecting our sovereignty, and they are not the kind of people who should be patrolling us."

But the reserve's unique geography is also part of the problem. The 20,000-acre reserve straddles the St. Lawrence River at the junction of New York state, Quebec and Ontario. The governments and various police forces of all three, as well as the Canadian and American governments, exercise some jurisdiction. As well, three Mohawk nations tie for influence on the reserve itself: separate elected councils on the U.S. and Canadian sides of the reserve, as well as a group of hereditary chiefs. According to White, the dispute over gambling "is not about craps or blackjack or bingo, it is about control of the reservation." An incident forced each other under the watchful gaze of the armed Mohawk Warriors, it was a claim of smugling activity.

MARC CLARK is a freelance writer in Montreal.

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# ANDEAN STRATEGY

## BUSH UNVEILS A CONTROVERSIAL \$9.3-BILLION PLAN TO FIGHT DRUGS BOTH AT HOME AND ABROAD

**I**t was a startling scene, the President of the United States looking aside a bag of crack cocaine on national television. George Bush twice showed the plastic container, which he said was found in a junk across the street from the White House, as he unveiled his \$9.3-billion antidrug strategy last week. Calling drugs "the greatest domestic threat facing our nation today," Bush promised "an assault on every front"—street addicts, major prisons, military punishment for peddlers and sellers, more treatment centers for addicts and the deployment of U.S. troops, if requested, to

help Latin American countries stamp out drugs at their source. But no sooner had Bush finished speaking than bombs rained Colombia, an answer from that beleaguered country's drug traffickers. Later in the week, Colombian students added their voice, shouting during demonstrations in Bogotá: "Cocaine jobs!" And Democratic congressmen denounced the President's domestic strategy as nothing more than a rebuke of what the government is already doing—with little success.

In his first address to the nation from the Oval Office, Bush acknowledged that his plan contained no major innovations. "The basic weapons we need are the ones we already have," he said. "What's been lacking is a strategy to effectively use them." He proposed shelling money in the next fiscal year from other federal programs to spend \$3.7 billion on law enforcement, \$1.9 billion for the justice system, \$2.85 billion for the coast guard, \$1.4 billion for prevention and education and \$1.1 billion for treatment. Democratic Senator Joseph Biden of Delaware, who chairs the Judiciary Committee, said that the plan is "not tough enough, bold enough or comprehensive enough to meet the crisis at hand." And New York Congressman Charles Rangel, chairman

of the House Narcotics Committee, charged that the President's preoccupation with not relinquishing has resulted in a "hick and dine" approach.

Bush clearly stung responded that Americans were getting "fed up" with "perpetual crying." He urged his Democratic critics to "get behind the program" or face repercussions in the next election. But congressmen became even more critical when they learned that the cost of the program had been overly underestimated. Although Bush's plan would cost \$2.6 billion more than was spent on combating drugs in the current fiscal year, the President claimed that next year's increase would only amount to \$244 million, because most of the added funds would not be spent until future years.

But Bush was spending only 6 percent of federal spending. What he did not mention in his address—but what drug policy director William Bennett never failed to acknowledge at a Senate Judiciary Committee hearing later—was that state governments would have to come up with as much as \$12 billion just to meet prison-building goals. "You're really staying to the states. Not only do you pay, do 66 percent of the cost," said Biden. "The states are being asked to make a multi-billion-dollar commitment in one year, next year. The money just isn't there."

Overall, roughly 70 percent of the Bush plan is devoted to upgrading law enforcement and the criminal justice system. The remaining 30 percent will be used for treatment and education. That ratio is much the same as in the previous drug strategy drafted by presidents Richard Nixon, Jimmy Carter and Ronald Reagan, which clearly failed.

One new element in Bush's so-called Andean Strategy, which would triple military and police aid to the cocaine-producing nations of Colombia, Bolivia and Peru, is the allocated \$200 million to the three countries—in addition to

the \$77 million already granted to Colombia—for the first year of what is hoped will be a five-year campaign in the Andean region, costing Washington about \$2 billion.

Peruvian President Alan García characterized the effort as "too little, too late." Officials in Colombia and Bolivia said that the Bush plan was "better received" than previous American efforts because it addressed U.S. consumption as well as cocaine production at its source. But they, too, claimed that the amount of aid allocated to the source countries was insuffi-

cient to authorize from sending out of those countries a major sample of the drug trade territory before took in Alfonso Eduardo Martínez Rosero, a multi-level cartel member wanted in the United States on charges of money laundering, was flown out of Colombia last week on a U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA) plane. U.S. Attorney General Bush and Thursday then granted "the extraordinary courage and resolve of President Vargas there" for combating the criminals.

However, the extradition precipitated an



AP/WIDE WORLD

Sense of bombing in Colombia by drug traffickers' assassination and threats

cide compared to the vast profits generated by the drug trade—as estimated \$3.4 billion in nearly as Colombia alone and \$3 billion in Peru and Bolivia. "Too much blood is being spilled here for us to get the short end of the stick," said Joe Carlos Pozos, the editor of Bogotá's daily *La Prensa*.

Meanwhile, the headquarters of Colombia's most powerful cocaine cartel, has suffered a rash of bombings since drug traffickers declared "total war" on the government as response to a crackdown that began last month. There have been previous explosions in Bogotá, the capital, as well, and the cartel's gunmen have launched a murderous campaign against the wives of Colombian army and police officers, killing two last week. But their desire to assassinate 10 judges for every cartel member who is extradited to the United States did not

anti-American demonstration at Bogotá's National University. Hooded students burned a U.S. flag and demanded the withdrawal of military advisers and equipment sent by Bush to assist in the Colombian crackdown. Observers recalled that the Medellín cartel had instigated similar nationwide demonstrations when drug lord Carlos Lehder was extradited to the United States in 1985. At week's end, Barranquilla another setback in his war when police officers forced him to look off from exposing military rule on Cali and Medellín. The president had replaced the mayors of the two cities with military officers, but threatened the order when legislators—some of them alleged by Colombian liberals to be in the pay of the cartels—charged that the action was unconstitutional and undemocratic.

The real test of Bush's resolve will arise

## World Notes

### POLAND'S NEW GOVERNMENT

Polish Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki said that he had completed a four-party coalition government in which Solidarity will take the leading role. Parliamentary sources said that the cabinet—which will be formally sworn in this week—contains 13 Solidarity ministers, four Communists, four members of the United Frontists' party and three from the Democratic party. Mazowiecki was expected to give the prestigious foreign ministry post to an independent.

### EVACUATION FROM BEIRUT

Evacuation continued as 20 diplomatic personnel from the U.S. Embassy in Beirut, Lebanon, left the embassy and threats allegedly made by Christian leaders in the Middle East. The general advised the Americans of ending work in the Syrian, where troops, along with their Muslim allies, are helping the Christians for control of Lebanon.

### FIGHT TO FREEDOM

A Chinese air force pilot who flew a MiG-29 jet to Taiwan and that he believed because of his courage for the Communist government after the crossing of pro-democracy demonstrations in Tiananmen Square last June.

### CRASH IN THE AMAZON

Two days after a Boeing 737 crash-landed in Brazil's Amazon jungle, a passenger walked to a nearby ranch and valued that 43 of the 54 people on board had survived.

### A NICARAGUAN CANDIDATE

Violeta Barrios de Chamorro, 39, the independent publisher of Nicaragua's chief opposition newspaper, *La Prensa*, was selected as the presidential candidate for the 14-party National Opposition Union in elections next February. If the vote goes, she would be the first woman to win the presidency. In 1979, she led a civilian police force and held an expected victory.

### HOPE FOR REFUGEES

West German officials said that they expected about 6,000 East German refugees in makeshift camps in Hungary to leave soon for the West, although Hungarian officials said that they would only offer transit until the two Germanys reach agreement about the refugees. Hungary—which began pulling down its Iron Curtain fences in May—has received a flood of East German refugees who want to move to West Germany.

where—and it's the security forces apprehended out of the well-oiled, extradition, the 12 images of the Medellín and Cali cartels. The Colombian government is offering \$350,000 rewards for information leading to the capture of Medellín chieftains Pablo Escobar and José Gonzalo Rodríguez Gacha. But the other top leaders are out on the lot. The chief of Colombia's national police, Maj. Gen. Miguel Arboleda Gaitán, closed reports that they had fled from the country. "I know that they are on Colombian territory," he said. "There is progress in intelligence in the search for them." Gomez Pedraza predicted that the violence would intensify as his men tried to neutralize the traffickers. But he added that the crackdown had achieved one notable result: "There are no reports of cocaine at this moment."

U.S. law enforcement officials confirmed that the flow of drugs from Colombia had slowed to a trickle. Gen. Guard Rios Adamez Martin Dorelli said that six and a half interceptions had recently stopped in Florida and that the southwest region along the Mexico border was experiencing a similar trend still. However, senior DEA officers said that

coke prices were falling—no discernible pattern—indicating that some areas are still glutted with the drug while elsewhere supplies are drying up. Last week, in Miami the price increased to \$120,000 per kilo from \$7,800 in New York City the price was still stable at \$30,000 per kilo.



Martinez: extradited

In Canada, police officials said that they could see no decrease in the amount of cocaine reaching the streets, where it sells for \$40 to \$120 a gram. And Robert Pithman, head of the RCMP's strategic intelligence branch in Ottawa, predicted an upsurge. "Because of the conditions, we're going to see more and more cocaine entering Canada [imported] for the United States," he said. "And once it's in Canada, if they can sell it here, that means one less border to cross. The availability in Canada will likely increase." Pithman added that police forces across the country continue to make seizures across the past three weeks. But Paul Gallimore of Metro Toronto's 14th Division drug squad said that it is "a budding action," adding that "we are starting to lose ground."

Canada has an estimated 300,000 cocaine

users, compared with eight million in the United States. And its National Drug Strategy, which was adopted in May, 1987, is the exact opposite of the American approach. Of \$116 million allocated for the five-year program, 66 per cent was dedicated to education, prevention and treatment. Only about 18 per cent, \$34 million, went to the RCMP and Canada Customs for more personnel and equipment. "What we're trying to do in Canada is much more balanced," said David Archibald, chairman of the Canadian Centre on Substance Abuse. He added, "Many provinces have been involved in education and health promotion" even before the National Drug Strategy was implemented. "Young people by and large seem to be turning away from party lifestyles," said Archibald, predicting less drug abuse.

Surveys of Canadian adolescents indicate an overall decline in alcohol drug use—from 22 per cent in 1987 from 58 per cent in 1979. But in an Ontario study, cocaine abuse did not follow that trend, rising to 6.1 per cent in 1987 from 3.3 per cent of the total population in 1984. Those figures lead some police officers to express concern that not enough is being spent on law enforcement. Gallimore pointed out that some of the funds in the National Drug Strategy had gone to local police forces. And he called the \$34 million spent on Customs and the other "a drop in the bucket when you put it on a national scale." He also complained that effective law enforcement is not being followed up with strong sanctions for those convicted of drug trafficking. Many of those who are jailed get out on parole after serving only a third of their term. "The deterrence at court level is nil," said Gallimore. "They're not going to stop selling drugs for 30- or 60-day terms."

However, the American approach, which stresses law enforcement, has also failed to eliminate the drug problem. Since 1986, U.S. resources devoted to the war on drugs have more than tripled, drug convictions have increased by 161 per cent and the sentences handed out by judges have grown by an average of 11 months. But drug use is still soaring. The American Civil Liberties Union recently reported that "with a current prison population of 600,000, the United States incarcerates more people per capita than any other industrialized country, with the exception of South Africa and the Soviet Union, and convictions for drug law violations are now the single-largest and fastest-growing category in the federal prison population."

Health strategy is designed to put yet more users and traffickers in jail. But in Canada, Health Minister Peter Beatty said that prevention programs were "acute appropriate," adding that the police will have to work with the tools that they already have. Both strategies will now be tested in what promises to be a long and deadly war.

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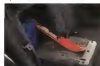
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# SOUTH AFRICA'S VIOLENT RAGE

AS WHITES WENT  
TO THE POLLS,  
BLACKS STEPPED  
UP THEIR DEFIANCE  
CAMPAIGN

Under a dark winter sky, the red glow of burning street barricades was reflected off the evening clouds hovering over the Colored township of Mowbray, on the outskirts of Cape Town. Flanked by an aroused mob, police in riot gear moved steadily down the street, firing their shotguns and tear gas launchers as they went, driving or demolishing and bystanders alike. The iron of their guns mingled with shouts of defiance and the screams of the wounded. It was election day in South Africa.

Exactly how many people died on polling day last week is still a matter of dispute, but the tollings cast a long shadow over the election victory of acting president F.W. de Klerk (page 36). He could dismiss the setbacks that his long-dominant National Party (NP) had taken at the hands of both

the left and the right because he still enjoyed an overall parliamentary majority that the minority of de Klerk's call for "an entirely new South Africa" had been cast in doubt by the behavior of the police, as they ran with whips, batons and shotguns through the segregated black and Colored (mixed-race) townships of the Cape. That may now lead to growing international condemnation and a tightening of the sanctions that are already biting deep into the South African economy.

Still, de Klerk seemed determined to ignore complaints about police brutality and put the best possible gloss on the election results. Although his party had registered an excellent electoral performance in 31 years, he claimed that he was "infatuated" with the outcome. And he said that the result—which left the NP in power with a slender majority and boosted the standing of the liberal Democratic Party (DP)—showed that 70 per cent of the white voters favored reforms that would give political rights to the 35-million-strong black majority. For their part, the disenfranchised blacks cast their own kind of ballot—a massive protest against the system. In the biggest strike in South African history, as many as three million blacks—more than the white, Colored and Indian voters combined—stayed at home on polling day.

**Irrelevant:** When the final votes were tallied last week—leaving one last cobweb to be removed—de Klerk's cautiously optimistic Nationalists held 63 of the 400-seat House of Assembly's 106 electoral seats, 30 fewer than in the last parliament. The extreme-right Conservative Party (CP), which wants to return to old-style apartheid, had 29 seats—17 more than before. And the NP, which seeks faster and more sweeping reform than the CP does, had 13 seats, as against 123 Democratic Party, the Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town who is the



Student demonstrators in Johannesburg being teargassed on election day, shocking accounts of police brutality

retrograded government's most reliable spokesman, dismissed those results as irrelevant. He added, "The white people will play their own games in their own white parliament."

In Lusaka, the Zambian capital, the ended African National Congress (ANC) also issued a statement calling the elections "irrelevant" and "a farce." But the powerful Zulu leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthe said that the vote was "personally important." Added Buthe, who commands the loyalty of a majority of South Africa's estimated 10 million Zulus: "I see the election as heralding an entirely new and very distinctive political era."

Whichever impact the new balance of forces in parliament may have on the pace of change in South Africa, it was clear that the way in which police handled demonstrations before and during election day will change the country's image abroad. Former Minister Jan Claar expressed shock at the number of deaths allegedly caused by police action. And he ordered Ottawa's ambassador in Pretoria, Ronald Markies, to lodge a strong protest and demand the issuance of "assurances" in dealing with any further unrest.

The outgrouped Miss Democratic Movement (MDM) alleged that 23 people were killed by police in seven black and Colored townships

on polling day, making the election the bloodiest in South African history (page 36). Cape Town lawyer Jani Mosen, a prominent anti-apartheid figure with an impressive network of informants in the townships, later put the death toll at 29. For their part, the police said that 13 people were killed—10 of them as the result of factional violence among blacks, not of police action.

**Revelatory:** But police Chief, Gregory Riekman alleged that an anti-racist squad had been "like wild dogs" in a Colored suburb of Cape Town (page 24). Tata declared that "many people claim we are misinforming" in charging that the police provide protection to violence. However, he added, Riekman's testimony confirmed that that was the case. Tata challenged de Klerk to condemn the police, and another prominent anti-apartheid lawyer, Allan Boswell, president of the World Alliance of Religious Churches, and that he was shaken by the police brutality that he had seen in the townships. Both charges had their followers to march vigilantly on parliament that week to protest the police killings. Declared Riekman: "De Klerk sits now in a pool of blood. People who began a new term of office with a massacre have on sight to be in government."

Independent accounts tended to confirm a heavier death toll than the police admitted—

and widespread police violence. Jani Mosen, who works for an annual violence agency in the black township of Khayelitsha, and that she comforted a dying five-year-old girl whose stomach had been ripped open by police shotgun fire. Dynasty added: "She told me to hold under her dress." Her stomach was all open. Everything had fallen out through the hole in her stomach." Dynasty said that she gave first aid to about 30 other people who had been killed with hand shot. "I took a [gun] blade to cut the bullets out," she said. "I didn't have anesthesia, as I washed the wounds with water." Five of them died." Dr. Louis Reynolds, a white, said that he treated 42 Colored youths for shotgun wounds and sent seven to hospital with life-threatening injuries. Struggling to keep his composure, Reynolds said: "I saw police driving through the streets shooting at people without any particular aim or direction. It was as if it was a game for them."

**Consequences:** Journalists, who are forbidden under emergency regulations from writing about police action, said that they witnessed similar incidents. One group of reporters saw five white police officers, accompanied by an armed car, walk through the Colored township of Mowbray, see Cape Town, firing shotguns and tear-gas launchers. Later, a crowd had set fire to barricades made of tires



De Klerk (center), wife, Marike, and Babik weekend performance in 31 years



# A CHANGE OF STYLE

A NEW PRESIDENT TRIES TO PLEASE

When reporters flew from Johannesburg to Gans, Zaire, last month on a diplomatic mission with President de Klerk, South Africa's newly elected president surprised many of them when he suddenly appeared in their section of the chartered aircraft, debarked and smiling, and began shaking their hands. And then he seemed like the likeable figure of Foreign Minister P. W. Botha, also appearing in the crowd. During the 13-year rule of de Klerk's predecessor, Pieter Botha, who was generally known as the "Big Crocodile" of South Africa, he had become accustomed to a dictatorial style. And when de Klerk said to our correspondent, "No, no, please don't stand up," another journalist said, smiling, "If that was Pieter Botha, and you didn't stand up, he would have sent someone to smash your knee-caps." Most, whose South African expression referred at the dramatic change in style that de Klerk seemed determined to introduce when he formally assumed the presidency this week.

**Students:** An articulate politician who has already proven his skills as a diplomat—on Aug. 26, he held a historic meeting with Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko Konde Ngbendu, who leads South Africa's main guerrilla group, the African National Congress—de Klerk has pledged to end his country's state-racial conflict and international isolation. But critics claim that de Klerk, at the helm of the ruling National Party (NP), is too cautious and indecisive. Said Zach de Beer, a co-leader of the liberal opposition Democratic party: "His instinct is always to try to please everybody and to avoid commitment to any particular issue. He has spent his entire life within the cocoon of the National Party during a period when apartheid was entrenched, its vice-grip, its only real policy."

A close insider who refers from debilitating engine headaches, the 53-year-old de Klerk has a reputation as a shrewd and pragmatic politician. He studied law at the ultraconservative Potchefstroom University in Transvaal

before practicing law for 16 years in the Afrikaans mining town of Boksburg, which became his parliamentary constituency in 1975. He is part of a political dynasty. His father, Jan de Klerk, was a cabinet minister between 1954 and 1968 and later president of the Senate. His uncle by marriage, Johannes Steynke, was prime minister from 1964 to

of the NP. And he was appointed acting president last month when Botha angrily resigned the presidency in protest of Klerk's plans for the Zandvoort visit.

Until his rise to the party leadership, de Klerk belonged to the conservative wing of the NP and he was one of the architects and exponents of the country's segregationist system.

But now he appears to be committed to ending apartheid. The most revealing indication of de Klerk's political credo came in a statement that he made to the party's Transvaal Provincial Congress in 1987: "A balance has to be struck between political emancipation of nonsegregated blacks, those who do not live in the normally well-governing townships, and the effective protection of existing rights and freedoms of our own people," de Klerk said. He added that black advancement "could not be attained by disabusing white South Africans and depriving them of their vested rights and freedom."

**Reverable:** However, de Klerk has never offered any specific program of action to bring about a political balance between whites and blacks. And many blacks say that despite his rhetoric, de Klerk is still wedded to the notion of a racially segregated South Africa. In fact, many political observers in South Africa re-



De Klerk voting on election day; from a family of politicians

1954. And his brother Willem, the former editor of one of South Africa's leading Afrikaans-language newspapers, is a widely respected political commentator.

**Loyal:** An unusually loyal member of the NP, during his student days de Klerk purchased an engagement ring for his future wife and member of his three children, Marika, with money that he earned by working for the party on weekends. During his 17-year political career, de Klerk held a number of cabinet posts. In such positions as justice and telecommunications, sport and recreation, minerals and energy, and education, he earned a reputation as a self-deprecating politician who rarely deviated from the party line. Last February, de Klerk replaced the aging 73-year-old Botha as leader

given fear that de Klerk will, like his predecessors during the past four decades, be unable to raise himself above party politics and the good prophecies of his own Afrikaans people. Declared Swagie Gervélaarsche, one of South Africa's best-known academics and political commentators: "Mr. de Klerk's obsession with a middle position in the ideological spectrum makes him very vulnerable to pressure from both the left and right." In the past few weeks, he has shown that his leadership style differs markedly from that of the "Big Crocodile." But de Klerk has yet to prove that he is capable of introducing substantive change.

ANDREW BELLARD with PETER HOSKING/REUTERS and Guy Trew

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Cape Town hospital workers protesting: a movement with an structure

## A CRY FROM THE MASSES

THE FOES OF APARTHEID UNITE

Black miners refused to go underground, and black children stayed away from school. Blacks were angry, and restaurants closed. Last week, as South Africa's white, Colored and Indian minority went to the polls in a national election, the country's black majority, which is not entitled to vote, simply stayed at home. It was the largest protest against apartheid in the history of South Africa and the culmination of a six-week campaign of nonviolent civil disobedience. That after the polls closed, riots in the black townships around Cape Town led to as many as 29 deaths. Black leaders accused the police of using unnecessary force and brutality, while police claimed that the deaths were the result of factional fighting between rival black groups. Now, South Africa's white minority confronts a powerful new anti-apartheid organization called the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM), which staged the largely peaceful and highly successful pre-election protests.

Although South African police used clubs,

Murphy Morobe and Jay Moko declared, "It is an extraordinary effort to the dignity of millions of oppressed in this country that the de Klerk regime should risk for another five years to lead us deeper into the abyss."

Even though the MDM is loosely organized, independent observers estimate that as many as 18 million South Africans support the movement. The MDM now intends to hold a huge "Conference for a Democratic Future" on Oct. 7. Anti-apartheid groups of all races and political affiliations have been invited to help develop a joint strategy for ending South African apartheid.

**Tactics:** The MDM openly encouraged South African anti-apartheidists five weeks before the election when a solidarity rally held that the country's hospitals would no longer be readily segregated. On

Aug. 2, the movement sent 250 black and Indian patients to seven white-only hospitals for treatment while thousands demonstrated outside the hospitals. The MDM then moved in to other targets, such as segregated beaches, and the defiance campaign quickly earned the support of several prominent opponents of apartheid, including Archbishop Desmond Tutu, leader of the South African Anglican Church, and Mrs. Alan Boesak, head of the General Workers' Union of Refined Chemicals. And last week, Cape Town's new white mayor, Gordon Oliver, said that he would lead the two sides "in a peaceful march as parliament has the right to prevent polling day violence by police."

The structure, strategies and leaders of the anti-apartheid organizations have deliberately been kept vague in order to frustrate the South African police and security forces, MDM was created by the executive branches of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), which claims to represent one million workers, most of them black, and the United Democratic

Front (UDF), an umbrella organization representing about 600 anti-apartheid groups. Organizations affiliated with the movement include the Cape Democratic Front, the Free Presses Front and the Black Sash, groups comprising whites against apartheid, the End Conscription Campaign, a group of young white activists opposed to compulsory military service, and the South African Council of Churches.

According to Mokoabe, joint secretary for the MDM,

Member-powerful masses



the idea of creating the movement emerged shortly after Pretoria changed democracy to the end of its ban in February 1988, and imposed severe restrictions on their political activities. Morobe said that the movement develops as a means of action by consensus. As a result,

South African authorities have had a hard time monitoring its activities or acting against it. "The concept has a concept," said Morobe. The UDF's acting general secretary, Mokoabe said, "In a situation of extreme repression, the most effective strategy is to create a broad-based movement that strengthens the forces opposing the regime and concentrates its actions."

**Barriers:** Earlier than imposing restrictions on its activities, South Africa's ruling National Party tried to discredit the MDM in the weeks leading up to the election. Law and Order Minister Abraham Vols, as well as Defense Minister Magnus Malan, reportedly described the movement as the internal wing of the banned African National Congress (ANC), an organization that has waged guerrilla warfare against Pretoria from outside the country for nearly 30 years. The ministers also charged that the MDM was part of the South African Communist Party Alliance. Pieter Gassnow, Vols' spokesman, said that the movement was nothing more than a small group of radicals engaged in a violent campaign to disrupt the election.

**Barriers:** But all of the evidence indicates that the MDM is not a loosely-based, violent movement. Stirling Gassnow, an expert on contemporary political organizations and with the Democratic Party for Peter Gassnow, said, "We estimate the MDM to have a core of the loyalty of about 50 million people." He said that the MDM is a deliberately distinct with the movement but is not running it. Gassnow added that the MDM has also succeeded in bringing together groups that had previously waged separate battles against apartheid. The National Congress of Trade Unions is a pro-black-consensus movement, while the ANC, UDF and COSATU are all primarily political forces. Said Gassnow, "The movement grew out of a determination to force the government to let the negotiating table by

promoting a united front of opponents."

So far, de Klerk's National Party has not moved beyond its campaign pledge to negotiate over a five-year period some role in the country's political system for the black majority. In the meantime, the government has

kilometre from the University of Stellenbosch to the centre of the town. Twelve trucks loaded with police arrived and, without warning, beat dogs and iron fists to break up the peaceful demonstration.

In the weeks leading up to the election, MDM



Johannesburg protest against segregated hospitals: 10 million people support the movement

continued its attempts to control and defuse black dissent. Police and security forces arrested and briefly detained hundreds of anti-apartheid activists, including anti-apartheidists. For participating in the election protest, he was arrested by the state. As part of a nationwide protest day before the election, an estimated 200 white students and black workers in Stellenbosch, 80 km east of Cape Town, marched about one

called for a peaceful campaign of civil disobedience. During a church service one day before the vote, Rev. Boesak told 500 churchgoers at a township near Cape Town, "Do not compromise the struggle we are in. I want you to remain nonviolent." Most blacks heeded Boesak's appeal. Still, as many as 25, all of them black or Colored, died on election night during police attempts to break up demonstrations in the black townships around

Police patrolling Cape Town beach: 'extreme repression'



Police patrolling Cape Town beach: 'extreme repression'



Canadian UN peacekeepers in Namibia charged of subversion against South Africa

## A TEST OF WILL

### PEACE MAY YET ELUDE NAMIBIA

**I**t may prove Pienaar's de Klerk with his first major test as South Africa's new reform-minded leader. Last week, Sam Nujoma, president of the South West African People's Organization (SWAPO)—which has been fighting a 22-year battle war against South African troops occupying Namibia—warned that he will return from exile this week. Nujoma is widely expected to become Namibia's first president following the country's first free elections in November. The elections are part of a UN-sponsored peace plan

in 1984. And for almost seven decades, Pretoria had refused to relinquish the vast, mineral-rich territory—populated by 1.4 million blacks and 300,000 whites—despite mounting international pressure. But South Africa's Nationalists, moving cautiously toward reform under former president P.W. Botha, found Namibia an increasingly unmanageable political cost. Finally, last December, Pretoria agreed to leave the territory in return for a pledge by Cuba to withdraw its 36,000 troops from its neighbor Angola. And on April 1, the autonomous



4,600-member UN peacekeeping force—including about 250 Canadians—began moving into Namibia to monitor the yearlong independence process. Still, observers have accused Pretoria of subverting the coming elections, raising concerns that the peace plan could fail.

**Controversial:** While SWAPO is widely expected to win the November elections, it remains unclear whether the guerrilla force can win the two-thirds majority in the constitutional assembly needed to dictate Namibia's future. Namibians (many suffered a serious blow to its public image in April when an estimated 1,000 guerrillas infiltrated Namibia from Angola, just as the peacekeepers began to arrive in the territory). Under the peace plan, the guerrillas were only allowed to train, organized, in May. The invasion led to a violent confrontation with South African forces that left at least 250 guerrillas and 38 soldiers dead. Then, SWAPO withdrew in response. Pretoria threatened to abandon the independence plan but, with UN mediation, it finally agreed to proceed.

Nujoma will likely attend his election campaign after he returns from exile but must await all Namibians to elect Sept. 14 a national council "to reconvene the president in a manner befitting a sovereign state."

SWAPO's main challenger in the November election is the multiracial Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA), a pro-Western coalition led by white teacher Dirk Mudge. Pretoria openly supports the DTA. And observers have accused the South African-owned radio-television agency SABC of harassing SWAPO supporters in southern Namibia. UN officials called for their discharge in last month's 1,200-voiced members were refused. In their favor, Government sources said that de Klerk issued the order just after he became South Africa's acting president.

**Subversion:** Still, James Victor Ghebo, Guatemalan representative at the United Nations, told the UN Security Council last month that many SWAPO supporters had been integrated into the regular police force and that Pretoria has "a deliberate strategy to subvert" SWAPO. Meanwhile, six Canadian observers who visited Namibia in July issued a statement saying that certain rules, applied by Namibia's South African-occupied government, call for such a comprehensive vote-counting procedure that it would take three weeks to tabulate results. That would raise "impatient and suspicious to the boiling point," the statement said.

South Africa has rejected accusations that it is trying to influence the election results. And the UN supports confidence that it can deal with Namibia, whatever party wins at the polls. And South African Foreign Minister Riechel (Pi) Botha recently "He expects them to be a good neighbor. After all, they will be equally totally dependent on us economically." Moreover, de Klerk clearly understands that, in November, world opinion will judge his commitment to reform by his willingness to allow Africa's last colony a free and fair election.

MARY McNEIL with PETER YOUNG/STANDARD in Cape Town



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their economies from agriculture into resource development and manufacturing. Said James Paterson, the multi-millionaire owner of the Vancouver-based Joe Paterson Group: "Conditions have never been better. I'm looking out my window and can see three construction cranes at work. Things are booming."

New evidence of that economic stability flowed from the Conference Board of Canada's latest forecast, which it released on Aug. 26. The board predicted that growth in the western provinces would exceed that in Ontario and Quebec in 1989-1990—for the first time since 1982. The board estimated that Saskatchewan's gross domestic product will grow by 7.6 per cent in 1989, Manitoba by the first per cent, British Columbia by 3.7 per cent and Alberta's by 1.9 per cent. Said Guy Gibson, an agricultural economist at the University of Manitoba: "There is a serious struggle to diversify the western economy, and I think we are making gains."

Statistics Canada figures support the Conference Board's findings and demonstrate vividly that manufacturing has expanded more in the West than in the other regions of Canada between 1981 and 1987. So, even though the West's manufacturing sector is much smaller

## Business Notes

### ECONOMIC PREDICTIONS

Business conditions in 1989-1990 will improve 5.1 per cent this year despite the Bank of Canada's tight-money policy, the Conference Board of Canada said last week. The private economic research firm's forecast became public in a book at Canada's prime minister's office. John Crow, chief economist, said the bank's policy to hold only 13.37 per cent from last week's 13.41 per cent. In its June survey of senior business executives, the conference board found that just 12 out of 100 chief executives said that they expect the economy to improve and 248 predicted that it will worsen.

### GO-ALONG FOR A GAS PIPELINE

Pacific Crest Energy Corp. received permission from the British Columbia government for construction of a 1,600-kilometre natural gas pipeline between Vancouver Island and the mainland. Last year, the federal government promised to contribute \$150 million to help the province build the \$500-million pipeline.

### JACOBICA RETIRING

Leo Jacobson announced that he intends to retire as chief executive officer of Chrysler Corp. at the end of 1991, when his current four-year contract expires. The 64-year-old Jacobson is credited with saving North America's third-largest automaker from bankruptcy.

### JAMES SAYS HARDWELL

Palcober Ltd. chairman William James announced that he plans to step down this week from about Sweden Ltd. and its parent, Tröberg AB of Sweden, are expected to gain control of Canada's third-largest cement company.

### CANADA CAR SALES SLUMP

Despite substantial year-over discounts, North America's three largest auto manufacturers sold 14 per cent fewer cars and trucks in Canada in August than in the same month a year ago. But the slump in Canada was offset by a strong rally in the last 10 days of August in the United States, where General Motors Corp., Ford Motor Co. and Chrysler Corp.'s sales were up by 27.1 per cent.

### BANK PROFITS JUMP

Fewer loan losses and strong consumer and business demand for loans have raised the nine-month profits of three of Canada's largest banks. Profits of the Royal Bank of Canada, the largest bank in the country, rose by 47 per cent, the Bank of Nova Scotia by 26 per cent and the Bank of Montreal by 10 per cent.

## BUSINESS

# THE RETURN OF THE WEST

**R**obert Lalonde says that the two-hour conversations between his boss in Brampton, Ont., and his job in Toronto finally led to his resignation. Because he could not afford to live in Toronto, the 34-year-old design engineer left his job at 611 Technology Inc. three months ago and moved to Calgary with his wife, Susan, 30, a commercial accounts manager with the Toronto-Dominion Bank. Said Lalonde: "We have a lot of faith in the West. Things are taking off here. I don't regret the move a bit." Lalonde's optimism was amplified across Western Canada last week as a new economic

conditions bring in a bumper grain crop on the expanding Prairies.

Forecast predicted that the region's economy was finally—after nearly eight years of painful slow growth—poised to outperform Central Canada's. And one particularly bullish observer at the West's premier was B.C. Finance Minister Melvin Gosselin. He declared: "We might well create a greater economic independence from Canada. And I think that every thinking British Columbian would like to see that occur."

The optimism that gripped the West so tightly for almost a decade will build a positive side. Since the darkest days in 1982, 1983, from which banks and government farm-credit agencies continue to hold more than \$60,000 acres of land repossessed from western farmers, the four western provinces have launched economic diversification programs. Economists and investors there were motivated to help the region escape from a punishing series of boom-and-bust economic cycles. As a result, the four provinces tried to draw investment to cushion the wild swings in resource and agricultural markets. They had some success and have attracted a wide range of new projects, from the world's largest pulp-and-paper mill, in northern Alberta, to the development of highly specialized computer industries.

In the process, Alberta decreased its reliance on cattle production and petroleum. British Columbia moved away from timber and expanded its forestry capacity to Asia. And Saskatchewan and Manitoba are expanding

and I think we are making gains." Statistics Canada figures support the Conference Board's findings and demonstrate vividly that manufacturing has expanded more in the West than in the other regions of Canada between 1981 and 1987. So, even though the West's manufacturing sector is much smaller

On a shopping trip in Vancouver, finally more jobs, and money to spend





financial institutions. "The pulp-and-paper sector has undergone major expansion, and we actually have a manufacturing sector that is growing. The high-tech industry is growing." Alton estimated that, by the end of 1988, B.C. companies will have avoided an additional \$25.4 billion in plant expansion, machinery, utilities expansion and construction—a 21-per-

cent increase over 1988's \$12.4 billion, Scott Allen. "That reflects the confidence business has in the economy of the province."

Alberta, long dependent on the oil sector, is also experiencing a dramatic new commitment to non-energy projects, particularly in the pulp-and-paper sector. Wilson Menzies, manager of the Edmonton Economic Development Authority, said that in the last year, investors have poured \$52 billion into central and southern Alberta, much of that into the forestry sector. He added, "There isn't another market in North America that has that kind of investment." Eight pulp-and-paper mills are now operating or are in the planning stages in northern Alberta, including the world's largest, the \$1.3-billion Alberta-Pacific plant planned for the Athabasca River, which is creating environmental approval.



B.C. logging: developing Asian markets for protection when the prime U.S. market slumps

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The effect of the massive investment is already being felt across the West. Edmonton's Stanley Engineering Group, for one, has joined with a Vancouver engineering firm and has reserved 38,000 square feet of office space in Edmonton to begin design work on the Alberta-Pacific pulp mill next environmental approval is granted. The partnership will serve 150 design jobs alone, half of them for exporters. Said company president Bob Trillo: "I begin to develop a whole new centre of technological excellence here in Edmonton. Pretty soon, the world will be coming to us for state-of-the-art forestry harvesting systems."

In fact, a large part of the West's successful economic diversification stems from such ventures as Stanley Engineering, which creates new technology for the development of traditional resources, especially oil and forest products. The results have been dramatic. In fact, one-seventh of the world's petroleum industry's seismic exploration work is now lo-

gistics-and, despite that, we've had good growth because of diversification."

Investment aside, diversification in Saskatchewan was economist Kerel Anderson's idea that Saskatchewan is no longer dependent on farming to sustain growth and, in recent years, Saskatchewan's economy was maintaining development of its resource sector. Exploitation of uranium, potash and oil has broadened the base of the Saskatchewan economy. Said Anderson, "The resource-based economy of Saskatchewan is now well-established. The province's position for the next 20 years has been solid."

Manitoba is traditionally best-equipped of all the western provinces to cope with economic downturns. Its economy is the most diversified in Western Canada, and it is shifting increasingly away from agriculture and food-related industries and into other forms of manufacturing. Since 1983, agricultural production has been relatively static in dollar terms, while manufacturing has been growing. In 1988, it rose by 5.9 per cent over the previous year and totalled \$9.24 billion. That was more than three times the value of agricultural production in the province.

According to André Dwyer, an economist with the Royal Bank of Canada, Manitoba will enjoy a 100-per-cent increase in 1989 in expenditures in manufacturing, to \$260 million from \$270 million, compared with a 50-per-cent increase in Alberta. Last spring, the Tracing Co announced a \$35-million expansion of its manufacturing arm in Manitoba, which will effectively triple the size of the plant. And a variety of start-product companies are opening in the vicinity of Manitoba Rolling Mills in Selkirk. Said Elia Shepperd, senior development officer for the provincial department of industry, trade and tourism: "With the exception of the automotive industry, we can produce anything that can be manufactured in the East."

As a result of the general optimism about Western Canada's rebounding future, most leaders like the Labrador may soon move west toward new opportunities.



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# BASF

# Campeau's big sell-off

*The Reichmanns come to the rescue*

Ever close observers of the empire that Robert Campeau built around Supreme last week, the family's competitive Sackbys. Out-born entrepreneur announced that he was selling a quarter

of. Some analysts predicted that Campeau would use the sale, scheduled to close effect on Sept. 14, to help repay part of the debt that he owes to First Books Corp. If Campeau Corp. fails to make the payment, due on Sept.

seventeen, retailing began in late 1986, when he paid \$4.9 billion for New York-based Allied Department Stores Corp. He followed up that purchase with an even more spectacular move in April 1988, by acquiring Bloomington's parent, Connecticut-based Federated Department Stores Inc., for \$9.2 billion.

In both cases, he borrowed most of the money in part of a leveraged buy-out and it had to be repaid, either by selling assets or from cash flow generated by the stores. That has proved to be a difficult task, partly because retail sales have remained flat for more than a year. And, until recently, Campeau has also had to bear rising interest rates, which complicated his huge debt.

Campeau, 64, is known for his rapidly changing moods almost as much as for his breathtaking buy-out-debt deals. At Campeau Corp.'s annual meeting in Toronto in July, he was by turns sharply critical of his detractors and aggressively upbeat about the prospects of his debt-laden business. That emotional style has often made potential investors wary of him, but in recent years Campeau has received support from one of Canada's leading firms: Olympia & York. It already owns about 38 per cent of Campeau Corp., and the Reichmanns have been strong supporters of Campeau's expansion.

In an interview last November with *Maclean's*, Paul Reichman said that Olympia & York bought into Campeau Corp. because the family be-

lieved that Campeau had done a "tremendous job" in building the company and that it was undervalued. Reichman added that he likes Campeau as an individual. Still, Reichman: "I like people who are in the courage of their convictions. In politics and business, that is somewhat rare."

For the past three years, Campeau has been fighting the toughest battle of his long and tempestuous career. He has kept his company safe from harm by maintaining a precarious balance between credit flow and unpredictable interest rates. Now, he may be facing the largest sacrifice of his career as he relinquishes his biggest prize of all to protect the rest of his expanded business.

PATRICIA CHRISTENSEN with JAMES GILLY in Toronto



Bloomington's Campeau (below) selling the crown jewel to pay down his massive debt

of Campeau Corp.'s board of directors to propose the sale of his prize 1988 acquisition, the New York City-based Bloomington's department-store chain. The glamorous centerpiece of its 17 stores, located in midtown Manhattan, was the glittering symbol of Campeau's rising ambition to become one of the largest retailers in North America. That loaded debt with more than \$1.5 billion in debt, and facing stagnant sales of consumer goods, Campeau has been unable to help his empire intact. New York financial analyst, Jerry Maguire of Josephthal & Co. Inc., said that the combination of circumstances has forced Campeau to sell the Bloomington's chain. Said Maguire: "He is loaded with debt, and there is basically no equity. The debt is like a stone around his neck."

Despite the mountain of debt, Campeau may yet manage to retrieve a substantial portion of his retiring empire because, according to another statement last week, Campeau has in the past of capitalizing a \$200-million loan from Olympia & York Development Ltd., owned by Toronto's powerful Reichman fam-

ily, to face a huge penalty it will have to transfer seven per cent of stock in Bloomington's parent, Federated Department Stores Inc., to First Books—a payment estimated to be worth about \$90 million.

But even though the Bloomington's sale will likely clear more than \$1 billion from Campeau Corp.'s debt load, investors reacted swiftly and negatively to the announcement. Campeau's shares, which had climbed steadily over the past two months, plunged \$5.37 on Friday to close at \$18.65 on the Toronto Stock Exchange. Many analysts said that they were shocked that Campeau has moved so quickly to shed his most coveted asset, rather than selling one of his less successful department stores. Campeau's main foe, the leadership position, in depen-



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## BUSINESS



Working in the Toronto laboratory, Stern (below) fighting an insurance battle

## A giant cuts costs

Northern Telecom faces more competition

Ontario at Northern Telecom Ltd. were clearly angry earlier this month when The Toronto Star declared that the company was planning to close its Toronto research facility and transfer the work done there to centres in Texas and California. Although Stephen Brown, senior vice-president of public affairs at the giant telecommunications firm, declined to either confirm or deny that the Toronto facility with about 115 employees, will close, critical reaction to the reports was swift. Replanning that high technology research is vital to Canada's economic future, Ontario Premier David Peterson said. "It just confirms to the country everybody jacks up and leaves," Stephen Langton, federal New Democratic Party critic for development and employment, added. "It's not as if Northern Telecom is a small business. It is absolutely critical."

The extensive publicity for Northern arose during a critical period for the company. Chief executive officer Paul Stern, who took over last March, has embarked on a corporate restructuring that has included the closure or consolidation of several Northern facilities in Canada and the United States. An

American with a reputation for extending tough cost-cutting measures at large corporations, Stern has said that the reorganization at Northern is necessary if the company is to compete effectively on a global scale. And most analysts expressed the view that Northern, which is now largely detached from its headquarters in Northville, Tenn., will soon be facing tough challenges for market share from such competitors as American Telephone & Telegraph Corp. and Siemens AG of West Germany. Stern also said that Northern may be sold within the next few years.

Northern's move into the United States has been under way for about a decade, although the company has maintained a presence there for more than 30 years. Sixty per cent of the company's revenues now come from customers in the United States. The company was founded almost 100 years ago as the Canadian manufacturing branch of Western Electric, which at the time was AT&T's manufacturing subsidiary. Curiously, there are slightly more employees in the United States—32,348 compared with 22,366 in Canada. And Northern Telecom is "just at the beginning of a period of global expansion,"



Paul Stern, Northern Telecom's chief executive officer



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## BUSINESS WATCH

said Frances McInerney, an analyst at Northern Telecom Information Design in New York City. McInerney said that Northern will be taking measures to protect itself from huge competitors, including Siemens, which recently took over the leading position in business telephone systems by purchasing a division of IBM. Formerly, Northern had occupied the top position in that field. McInerney also noted that Northern's cost efficiency is "awesome," making it an attractive buy should its controlling shareholders, Bell Canada Enterprises Inc., a telecommunications giant based in Mississauga, Ont., decide to sell.

Bowen dismissed as "an old-world gathering" recent speculation by some analysts, including McInerney, that Northern may indeed be sold within a few years. But many politicians and some members said they are concerned that Northern will weaken its Canadian presence. Canadian Auto Workers president Robert White said that Northern Telecom is on the leading edge of research and development in Canada mainly because of protective regulatory policies that created a secure market for Northern products. And White added, "Otherwise, they are moving their business out of Canada. It's a slap in the face for the Canadian people."

The restructuring at Northern has been closely watched in Canada because of the company's huge influence in the sensitive telecommunications industry. Northern, through its subsidiary Bell Northern Research Ltd., is by far the largest employer of telecommunications research professionals in Canada.

In recent years, Northern has been between one-quarter and one-third of all available PhD electrical engineering graduates that Canada produces every year. And several Canadian high-technology companies, including Ottawa-based Intel Corp., were established by former Northern employees.

Currently more than 70 per cent of Northern's research employees—down from 81,000 in 1986—are located in Canada, the majority at Bell Northern Research's Ottawa facility. Bowen said that Northern's plan is to "keep it that way" and that the company spent \$94 million last year with a similar amount to be spent this year to expand its Ottawa facilities.

But plant closures have already cut many jobs in Northern's manufacturing operations. Layoffs in its two Canadian manufacturing operations have numbered more than 700 this year, which includes August plant closures in Ajijic, Que., and Belleville, Ont. Over 400 employees were relocated at Northern's expense. The number of jobs lost in the United States was even higher—just over 2,000, after plant closures in Nashville, Concord, N.H., and Menlo Park, Minn.

Clearly, the emphasis at Northern now is to continue executing its extensive cost-cutting program in preparation for global competition. As with other large multinationals, borders may soon become as more than doorways to bigger—and richer—markets.

PATRICK CHENHELM and JERRY DALEY in Toronto

## BUSINESS WATCH



# The most influential corporate director

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

**M**ost retired provincial premiers quickly take stock of their legacy. I can only remember Walter R. Brown, Lloyd, the Sixth or Harry Strom? But in the past 44 months, Alberta's Peter Lougheed has achieved an astounding record: a man who has arguably made his Canada's most influential corporate director. He is an advisor to the boards and advisory committees of two dozen major corporations whose aggregate assets easily exceed \$200 billion. But unlike most directors, who tend to limit the use of their authority to business advice at their narrow geographical and industrial sectors, the former premier's power spans nearly every business category, and his advice is sought on public-policy matters as much as balance-sheet issues.

Officially, Calgary-based Lougheed, 62, is international corporate counsel and chairman of the international trade group at Bennett Jones, Western Canada's largest legal firm, with offices as well in Edmonton, Saskatoon and Ottawa. Its 62 partners place their legal stamp on a wide variety of mega-deals. The firm has not only one (Lougheed) but two partners (the other is Robert Pitt) as the bilateral partner with another disaster-stricken province of the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement.

Lougheed was one of the most vocal last-entrants on behalf of free trade in the last election campaign, and it is no coincidence that Bennett Jones's Ottawa branch is located only steps away from the government's Trade Negotiations Office.

"I only spend about half my time in Calgary," Lougheed recently told me, "because 50 per cent of my business is national and 10 per cent is international, and the rest is internal." I work as a commentator, not as a lawyer here, and make quite a bit more than I did as premier (180,000). I've wanted very much to prove it's possible to have a productive life after politics because, in trying to protect ourselves over the years, a lot refused because they couldn't picture how they could get out once they got in. It's important to

*Former premier  
Peter Lougheed's power  
ranges across nearly  
every business category  
on public-policy and  
balance-sheet issues*

show young people you can be a politician, leave and still have an interesting life." According to a survey done by the Conference Board of Canada, the median annual fee for directors is \$9,400. Lougheed's income from directorships alone must be at least \$200,000.

As well as being an adviser to the governments of the Northwest Territories and Gulf last spring's Liberal victory Newfoundland, The Honourable Peter Lougheed, the British merchant bank, Lougheed holds directorships in an astutely diversified mixture of leading corporations in most of the significant Canadian business sectors. In Canadian banking, he is a director and chairman of the public-policy committee of the Royal Bank. On the venture capital side, Lougheed is a director of Queens Capital, a recently new fund put together by Toronto's John Yarnell. In Montreal, he sits on the board of Bombardier Inc., Quebec's fastest-growing industrial trust.

In communications, Lougheed is a Macdonald-Hastler director as well as being on the board of the company's largest television operation, CTV Canada. In telecommunications, he is a director with Northern Telecom, this country's largest high-tech operation. At the same

time, Lougheed has assumed key portfolios within Peter Dinklage's \$120-billion business empire, as a director both of the mother-lode company (Brenco Ltd.) and Norcen Energy Resources Ltd. In transportation, he joined the board of Pan Corp. last spring, the holding company for Canadian International Airports, as well as being a director of Canadian Pacific, whose interests extend vastly beyond its railway.

In the insurance field, Lougheed is a director of the huge Reed Steinhilber group and, in another resource category, he sits on an advisory board to Loosan Ltd., which includes private Canadian coal deposits. Possibly his most active directorship is with Rex Southern's Alcan Ltd., the Alberta conglomerate that builds construction-site trailers, distributes and owns a good chunk of Alberta's natural gas resources and is reaching out for major defense construction projects in Canada and Saudi Arabia. And he is also a member of one of Canada's leading biotechnology firms, Bioscience Canada, run by chairman Jim Gray.

At the moment, Lougheed is preoccupied with pushing through regulatory approval for Alberta Northern's Gaslink, a pipeline controlled by 18 U.S. gas companies to pump 200.5 million cubic feet daily out of Alberta into the American East Coast states. As well as Lougheed, the firm's advisory committee includes former U.S. ambassadors to Canada Thomas E. Banfill and Gerald C. Smith, former American senators Dan Rostenkowski and Congressman James Jones, as well as former Canadian Ambassador to Tehran Kenneth Taylor, the hero of the U.S. hostage escape from Iran.

Do all these corporate stints leave Lougheed with his shoulders or contacts? "I think so," he says. "I don't do any direct political lobbying, but I try to advise them on the kind of political environment in which they must operate and work out strategies for them on how to deal with governments and regulatory boards."

In his spare time, Lougheed remains at staff appointments around on low government much decisions and tracks a regular political science course at the University of Calgary on Canadian executive federalism. "I chair these seminars because the job boards in the private sector and public sector, the minister of energy for Ontario," he says. "It's great fun." The Lougheeds live in a \$200,000 house on Calgary's Prospect Avenue, and Lougheed is also moving up in the corporate world, having recently joined the board of Multivision Video (an Anco subsidiary) and Sears Canada Inc.

"It's comfortable as can be," says the former Alberta politician, "especially because the role of corporate directors is changing and they're no longer rubber stamps for management. It's as busy as I ever was as premier, but without the stress. Besides, I have corporate boards in which I'm being elected by a constituency." He even has time to run 29 km a week, keeping his weight at 162 lb., very close to what it was when he played defense back for the Edmonton Eskimos.

# THE RISING CRISIS



Carleton University campus, Ottawa: rising studies

## UNIVERSITIES IN CANADA ARE ENLISTING PROFESSIONALS TO HELP THEM FIGHT AGAINST UNDERFUNDING

**A**fter the crazy atmosphere at his Toronto high school, Mark Chang-Na found life on university as overwhelming experience. The 21-year-old student at "Toronto," now a second-year geography student at the University of Western Ontario in London, had been accustomed to high-school classes of 30 to 40 students. At Western, most of his classes had close to 800 students, dozens of whom were forced to sit in the aisles, and professors delivered lectures with the aid of hand-held, wireless microphones. Over the summer, Chang-Na discovered another integral part of university life at Canada's best-paying. He worked full-time soliciting donations for the university by telephone. For many of Canada's 554,000 full-time university students, who receive their studies at 68-degree granting institutions this month, overcrowded classrooms, outdated equipment and deteriorating buildings are a fact of life.

The net effect, according to many students, is a decline in the quality of education. Lynda Richardson, a third-year French major at the University of Manitoba, and that some of her professors do not ask for written assignments or spend enough time because they do not have time to mark them. Jeff Beliveau, a fourth-year English major at the University of Calgary, added that professors may not offer hours aside for consultations with students, but the lessons are long, and the students get only a few minutes each. And Western's Chang-Na said he had found it very difficult to concentrate in large classes and the focus himself easily distracted. "The whole atmosphere is not conducive to learning," he added.

**Grants:** For university administrators, the complaints of these students are a reflection of one of the most serious problems confronting higher education in Canada: underfunding. As a result, professionally designed and managed fund-raising campaigns have become a key to alleviating some of their financial problems. According to a survey conducted earlier this year by the Ontario-based Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada, 58 institutions were in the process of raising an unprecedented \$1.2 billion, including \$720 million from private sources. The balance, say university officials, will have to be provided by governments. Said Donald Kelchen, president of the Canadian Association of Educational Development Officers, an organization that promotes university fund-raising: "Every university in Canada is stretched. It is a quantum leap from five years ago."

According to figures released last week by Statistics Canada, the total cost of running Canadian universities this year will hit \$8.9 billion



University bookstores: overcrowding and deteriorating buildings as a fact of life

that most university officials say that they will require larger federal-provincial operating grants, or increased tuition fees, to cover such operating costs in salaries, teaching equipment, heat and electricity. Otherwise, they claim, the quality of postsecondary education will deteriorate and the Canadian economy will become less competitive. Said George Connell, president of the University of Toronto, Canada's largest postsecondary institution: "Everybody is talking in our future depends upon our being innovative, keeping people creative people. At the same time, our investment in higher education is falling."

Underfunding has produced a broad range of problems for universities across the country. A case in point is Queen's University in Kingston, Ont., which last year that the institution's 86 buildings required "massive, immediate corrective maintenance" that would cost an estimated \$35 million. The Belmont-based University of Alberta now charges students annual fees of \$120 for the use of computers

and libraries, and the student association is challenging the legality of the fees. Halifax's Dalhousie University, one of Atlantic Canada's largest postsecondary institutions, has reduced its faculty by 58 professors through attrition over the past three years and is considering selling off land to reduce its \$35.5-million debt. Said Thomas Dugly, a vice-president of the Dalhousie student union: "Buildings are literally crumbling. Labs are doing more experiments with less equipment. The whole idea of university life is being disrupted."

**Cuts:** The crisis of the funding system is straightforward, according to most academics and educators. Growth in government grants, which cover about 80 per cent of the operating costs of most universities, simply have not kept pace with rising costs. In the federal fiscal year ended last April, Ottawa contributed \$6.1 billion to fund postsecondary education, compared with \$2.6 billion 10 years earlier. Over the same period, operating grants per student rose to \$4,652 from \$4,442.

## Kelchen's 'quantum leap' is the number of universities that are fund-raising



Despite these funding increases, university administrators across Canada say that their institutions are severely underfunded. Connell said that if the operating budget should be about 15 per cent above the current \$500 million. Similarly, Byrne, Mason, Dubois and McKeown, a Toronto-based business and administrative firm, said that his university needs at least a 10-per-cent increase in its \$100-million annual operating budget.

**Success:** But university administrators say that, since 1982, successive federal governments have agreed to limit increases in family postsecondary education because of Ottawa's yearly deficits and the growing national debt. As a result, they have been forced to adopt more innovative, entrepreneurial approaches to financial problems. Ross McGregor, president of Toronto-based Kenyon Canada Inc., a fund-raising consulting firm, said that his company has worked on 18 university campaigns across Canada over the past five years. McGregor added that Canadian universities are now attempting to raise larger sums of money than ever before, and that they may be becoming far more sophisticated (page 59).

Before launching a fund-raising campaign, many universities have a consulting firm to conduct a feasibility study. McGregor said that consultants can accurately determine realistic goals of their complete fund-raising efforts, including alumni, parents of current students, faculty, charitable foundations and corporations. In some cases, outside consultants run the campaign, he said, although many universities now have their own development departments responsible for fund-raising on a permanent basis. Indeed, Kelchen, development director at St. Mary's University in Halifax, said that there is such a shortage of professional fund-raising across the country that each month a couple of potential employers contact him. He added, "It is one of the hottest fields in Canada."

A professionally designed campaign and so-called appeals to potential donors have become necessary because fund-raising is now an extremely competitive business. Sean Moore, president of Ottawa-based Catalyst International, which provides consulting services in philanthropy, said that some of his clients receive up to 5,000 requests annually for donations from arts groups, hospitals, social service agencies and universities.

**Goal:** Despite the intense competition for money, university fund-raising targets have been rising rapidly. McGregor said that the trend is partly driven by need and partly by the extraordinary success of a few campaigns in the mid-1980s. Montreal's McGill University set out in 1983 to raise \$61 million but ended up with close to \$77 million, and between 1984 and 1986, Quebec City's Laval University raised \$43 million, well above its initial goal of \$25 million. Currently, both the University of British Columbia and U of T are in the midst of campaigns that they describe as the largest ever undertaken in Canada. UBC's objective is \$130 million, which includes \$40 million from individuals and corporations, and an equivalent



A temporary building at the University of Alberta, housing students for computer use.

account from the provincial government. UofT is attempting to raise \$100 million from private-sector donors alone.

**Exclusivity** In order to meet their campaign objectives, universities have adopted a wide variety of techniques. Most contributions allow targeted gifts in which the donor specifies how the money is used. During one recent campaign, the University of Calgary allowed companies or individuals to name classrooms and labs if they make a donation of \$250,000 or more. The University of Manitoba, which launched its \$40-million Drive For Excellence campaign in early 1987, turned to its students, staff and alumni for support. Also student associations from different faculties acted as funder of searches on top of fellow fees for these years. James Doherty, director of the university's department of general building, said that engineering students will pay \$350 a year while commerce students have agreed to contribute \$25 monthly.

Many of U of T's techniques are based on the fact that 10 per cent of the donors contribute 90 per cent of the funds. As a result, fund raisers can afford to pay considerable attention to a relatively small number of potential sources. Gordon Greig, U of T's vice-president of development, said that obtaining large donations from wealthy individuals can involve lunching or exclusive parties with university presidents. Conolly, the dean of arts faculties or prominent corporate executives who have attended UofT. The process can take a year and also requires thorough research of the potential donor's background and interests.

Occasionally, generous and generous pay off especially lucratively. Greig said that one woman who had attended the university during the late 1960s

and early 1980s had agreed to donate \$100,000. But then, she received a personal visit from veteran CBC commentators Johnny Wayne and Frank Snider. They had appeared in a campus comedy show with the women when they were all students, and the comedy show had taken place. Because of her personal connections with the comedian project, the women agreed to increase her donation to \$1 million. Said Greig: "What you're trying to do is find the hottest button that's going to make a donor give."

**Squeeze** But even the most successful fundraising campaigns will only solve part of the financial problems facing Canadian universities, according to education and administration. Money raised through private sources usually goes toward upgrading or replacing buildings, or establishing scholarships for stu-

dents and endowment funds to pay for visiting or guest professors. And fundraising will not replace the government grants and tuition fees, which together cover more than 90 per cent of the annual operating budgets of most universities. Said Douglas Wright, president of the University of Waterloo, an Ontario institution known for its engineering and science programs: "There obviously has to be more money. I believe there should be both increased government support and increased tuition."

The effects of the financial squeeze are felt most acutely by senior graduate students who are trying to earn backdoor of arts or science degrees. Declared Wright: "Class sizes and teaching loads have become outrageous." At the University of Waterloo, there are now 30 students per teacher, compared with just 12 in the early 1960s.

Paul Menden, a student representative on the board of governors at Brandon's Simon Fraser University, said that students frequently sit on window ledges in crowded seminar rooms. Brian Tinker, a vice-president of the University of Calgary, added that large classes leave professors to reduce or eliminate classes, assignments in three or multiple-classroom courses, which are easier to grade. Said Tinker: "This has an impact on writing and basic communication skills. This is very serious."

Besides crowded classrooms, a common problem is outdated scientific equipment. Charles Dwyer, professor of chemistry at the University of Manitoba, said that his undergraduates are working with 30- to 40-year-old microscopes. The science faculty cannot afford new ones, which cost about \$1,000 apiece, said Dwyer. The University of Guelph, an Ontario school noted for its agriculture and veterinary programs, has responded to the problem by using profits from its food services operations as a booklet to buy equipment. University president Neill Segal said that it will take at least five years to replace outdated equipment.

**Complete** University libraries, which are essential for students at any level and in any discipline, have also deteriorated because funding increases have not kept pace with rising prices for books and scientific journals. Ellen Hollmann, director of libraries at Toronto's York University, said that a recent survey of purchasing by the top 200 research libraries in North America showed that the median price increase of books and journals that they acquired between 1985 and 1986 was 32 per cent. Hollmann said that York purchased 30,000 new volumes during the 1987-1988 academic year, compared with 66,000 a decade earlier. During that 20-year period, York reduced its journal sub-



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scriptions to 16,900 (on 11,752, she said).

At the same time, university department heads say that underfunding has weakened their staffs because they cannot compete with the salaries available elsewhere. Peter King, head of the University of Manitoba's computer science department, and, over the past two years he has lost half of 32 faculty members largely because of salary differentials and research facilities. One professor went to his high school, another went to an American university and two took private-sector jobs.

**Budgets:** Books teaching, the second most expensive of a university's research. But many academics say that funding for research is not keeping pace with the cost of equipment or the number of applicants applying for grants. Arthur May, president of the Ontario-based Natural Sciences and Engineering Research Council, said that the council will distribute \$422 million in grants during the year beginning next April 1. Five years ago, the council awarded \$310 million in grants. But May noted that the council has received 800 applications in each of the past two years from new researchers and had to reject nearly half of them. As well, grants are going for less amount because of rising costs, said May. "Scientific salaries are probably double consumer inflation. Therefore, we're losing ground."

The intense competition for research grants is beginning to have a devastating effect on many university faculties. On Cambridge, West's six-year program of research, pointed out that they are being split into two groups. Those who receive funding are beginning to operate in research, while those who do not are being used as a research and teaching unit. There is not enough grant money to meet the research needs of many young professors, while competent, mature researchers are leaving their funding cut off.

**Faculty:** The solutions to the crisis are simple and straightforward, according to most university administrators. Governments can increase operating grants or give the universities greater flexibility to increase their tuition fees. But they point out that these budgeted funds since 1983 have contained measures that limited increases in funding for postsecondary education. The most recent change to the federal funding formula was contained in Michael Wilson's April 1986, Budget. Climate agreements, executive orders of the Department of Education and Colleges of Canada, said that the latest budget will cut

\$770 million from Ontario's obligations over the next four years.

Tuition fees have increased sharply in most provinces in the middle to late 1970s, except for Quebec, which has kept its fees frozen since 1966. Students in Atlantic Canada

pay \$12,744 a year, Harvard charges \$15,064 and Illinois charges \$17,942. Despite the fee increases in Canada, tuition still accounts for only 14 per cent to 20 per cent of total operating expenses at universities throughout the country.

As a result, individual university administrators to several provinces say that fees should be even higher. But one of the most organized campaigns for increased fees has occurred in Ontario. In March, 1986, the board of governors at Queen's approved a proposal to increase tuition fees by \$125 annually for five years. By the fall of 1991, first-year arts and science students would be paying \$2,526 annually. Under the proposal, provincial operating grants would increase by \$3 for every \$1 increase in tuition. Over the first three years, the proposal would cost the provincial government an extra \$523 million. Kenneth Bowers, director of resources planning at Queen's, said that the proposal has been approved by the Council of Ontario Universities, which includes the presidents of the province's 15 universities.

But any further attempts to increase tuition fees would likely meet stiff resistance from student organizations. Both the Canadian Federation of Students and the Ontario Federation of Students are officially opposed to any tuition fees. The national student group's chairman, Jean Arnold, a University of New Brunswick psychology and political science graduate, said that "postsecondary education should be considered a right, not a privilege. She added that governments should fund postsecondary education out of tax revenues. She said Arnold.

Tuition fees and user fees are financial barriers that affect the whole concept of accessibility to higher education."

**Grants:** Clearly, for the federal and provincial governments who have to share the costs of Canada's universities, there are no easy solutions to the underfunding crisis. Politicians say that raising tuition fees, any further would only undermine their own long-established policies of making university education accessible to as many students as possible. Increasing operating grants may be difficult, if not impossible, in a time when most governments are attempting to control their spending. But many of the education and training officials maintain that, without more funding, the quality of university education in Canada will decline, perhaps irreversibly. The net effect, they say, will be a greater loss of poorly trained graduates and a less efficient economy, at a time of increasingly tough global competition.

**PARCY PENTIN** with correspondent reports

## A MODEL MISSION

### SOPHISTICATED FUND-RAISING AT MOUNT ALLISON

At Mount Allison University, sitting on a hillside in Sackville, N.B., the development office oversees a highly refined exercise in friendly persuasion. Following up preliminary letters from personal alumni and university officials, seven staff members direct a team of 40 Mount Allison students who make telephone calls as far afield as Europe and Australia to ask the 16,900 alumni what addresses are in the university's database to contribute to the annual fund-raising drive. Their mission this year is to raise \$600,000 to help alleviate mounting operating costs, as well as to identify alumni who might want to give to other areas of university life. And since the computer campaign began three years ago, nearly two-thirds of Mount Allison's graduates have made donations. Said Donald McNeil, president of the Canadian Association of Educational Development Officers and himself development director of Halifax's St. Mary's University "Mount Allison does a very good job. They have a history of good relations with their alumni and have put extra effort one of the most sophisticated of operations in fundraising."

**Bolt:** Many observers say that Mount Allison is a well-endowed university that is better placed to weather government funding cuts than are some of the other 16-degree-private institutions in Canada's Atlantic region. But then, according to Catherine Desrois, 22-year-old student union president and a member of the university's development committee, is a misconception. "The financial background of students here is no different than any other university in the region." And the need for extra funds is increasingly pressing. Subsidized with an annual total of \$3-million debt as well as annual interest payments of \$100,000, Mount Allison has ended budget cutbacks in each of the last two years. The university with an operating budget of \$26 million this year, gets only \$12.5 million of that from the province and raises another \$4 million from tuition fees—\$1,400 per student a year. About \$3 million comes from university endowments.

The situation at Mount Allison was not always so critical. In 1839, Sackville businessman Charles Frederick Allison approached the Wesleyan Methodist Committee of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, proposing the founding of an educational institution "in which not only the elementary but higher branches of education may be taught." Allison offered to buy a site and erect a building for the institution. As well as to identify alumni who might want to give to other areas of university life. And since the computer campaign began three years ago, nearly two-thirds of Mount Allison's graduates have made donations. Said Donald McNeil, president of the Canadian Association of Educational Development Officers and himself development director of Halifax's St. Mary's University "Mount Allison does a very good job. They have a history of good relations with their alumni and have put extra effort one of the most sophisticated of operations in fundraising."



Mount Allison campus in Sackville, N.B.; situation not always so critical

son Charles Frederick Allison approached the Wesleyan Methodist Committee of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, proposing the founding of an educational institution "in which not only the elementary but higher branches of education may be taught." Allison offered to buy a site and erect a building for the institution. As well as to identify alumni who might want to give to other areas of university life. And since the computer campaign began three years ago, nearly two-thirds of Mount Allison's graduates have made donations. Said Donald McNeil, president of the Canadian Association of Educational Development Officers and himself development director of Halifax's St. Mary's University "Mount Allison does a very good job. They have a history of good relations with their alumni and have put extra effort one of the most sophisticated of operations in fundraising."

**Decor:** used in increasingly pressing



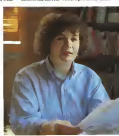
that would later become Mount Allison University. As well, he agreed to furnish \$150 a year for 10 years toward its expenses. In the years to follow, other benefactors freely gave funds for buildings, scholarships, academic chairs and equipment that helped Mount Allison through its growing pains. The Department's endowment of numerous campus sites in the 1930s and 1940s. Their gifts laid the groundwork for a campus, named after its founder, that 150 years later is valued for extensive purposes at more than \$125 million.

**Generosity:** But, like administrators of other Canadian universities, the managers of Mount Allison learned that they could not depend solely on the generosity of alumni, friends and philanthropists for ever-expanding capital expenditures, scholarships and academic chairs not covered by taxes. Allison at Sackville has begun after the Second World War. Administrators hired a part-time fund raiser in 1968 and a full-time development officer in 1978.

Lately, the university's busy-fundraising information network system—and of the most sophisticated in the Canadian university community—is so highly regarded that its creator, Robert Bender, Mount Allison's director of computer services, was three-place bonus at a 1981 convention of computer scientists in Atlanta. The development officer's database lists student calls, after previous calls were made and when the next is due, as well as details

Befores: reducing the number of subscriptions

pay the highest fees in the country—up to \$1,590 per year for an undergraduate arts program. A comparable program in Quebec costs student a maximum of \$370 annually. In Ontario and the four western provinces, underfunding of students are officially opposed to any tuition fees. The national student group's chairman, Jean Arnold, a University of New Brunswick psychology and political science graduate, said that "postsecondary education should be considered a right, not a privilege. She added that governments should fund postsecondary education out of tax revenues. She said Arnold.



Allison: higher education a right, not a privilege

graduates are paying tuition fees ranging from \$1,000 to \$1,500 per year. However, Canadian fees remain cheap when compared with those charged at private American universities. This University charges undergraduates an sta-

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### SPECIAL REPORT



Gilmore: "we should be as independent from government funding as possible"

including the needs of children and special interests of those called. Harvey Gilmore, the university's development director, said that, with a former splash of interest cards, "We were only getting 30 per cent of alumni. Ten years ago, you could never do this. The computer has revolutionized things."

But fund raising does not end with a phone-and-mail campaign to alumni. Mount Allison has another drive under way to raise \$17.5 million for, among other things, enhancement of the Ralph Peacock Bell Library holdings, contributions toward a new \$10-million campus activity centre and needed building equipment and research equipment. Added by Gilmore is the higher education of Canada's business community. Gilmore or university president Donald Wells often join alumni campaign chairman Philip Crawford, president of Scotia Ltd. of Montreal, or other campaign volunteers as his own at visits to prospects in Canadian corporations. After less than three years, that campaign has already raised \$14 million. But Crawford, a 1952 Mount Allison political science and history graduate who helps to coordinate the activities of a network of more than 70 volunteers from Atlantic Canada to Ontario: "I guess I spent about 30 hours a month on this. I do it because I'm convinced it will add to the strength of Mount Allison. I feel good about it."

**Cuts:** Still, the need for money continues to grow. After slashing the budget by smaller amounts in the previous two years, president Wells last April decided that in 1989-1990 the budget would have to be trimmed by a further \$1.5 million to avoid running a deficit. The result is that some athletic teams as well as university staff have been cut. Said Decarie:

"There is a general consensus that we have been doing too much for too long." But the Kingston, Ont., native, who is a fourth-year student in Canadian studies at the university, predicted that, in the coming year, for cuts will "go far beyond athletics."

Indeed, a full-time financial aid officer will drop in part time, and a center development center will be left off, as will four secretaries and 12 other support staff. By not replacing professors leaving on sabbaticals, Decarie said that the teaching strength will also be cut by the few per cent. She added that if teachers are not available to teach required courses for certain programs, the university "may have to create degree requirements."

Decarie also points out that student fees in the coming year have been raised by more than seven per cent and the cost of living in residence has risen by almost five per cent. She agrees that cutbacks are necessary. "They're trying to balance the budget," she said, "and if they run a deficit they get penalized in terms of provincial grants." But she added "They're not mind-blowing every department. Students will be frustrated, and a bit angry at the very least, we wanted to be involved in deciding how cuts would be made."

Gilmore is clearly aware of the need for more funds to offset the losses. He said that that there are only three sources of extra money—government grants, higher tuition fees and private funding. But the New Brunswick government already gives less for operations costs and capital projects to Mount Allison than it does to other universities in the province. Said Gilmore: "When we go to government, they say we get more money from private sources. And I think we should be as

independent from government funding as possible. We have a chance to be different—a small, intimate university." For his part, Dr. Russell King, New Brunswick minister for advanced education and training, insists that Mount Allison is funded according to the same formula as other universities in the province. But Mount Allison has a smaller enrolment, smaller class sizes and fewer of the expensive science and engineering programs, he said. "Then has a lot to do with the historical role they served out for themselves," King added.

**Eager:** And student fees cannot be raised much higher, Decarie said, because the cost for a resident student attending the university is already about \$6,300 a year, exclusive of personal expenses. "A resident making 14 weeks in the summer at \$5 an hour and banking every penny has only \$2,800," she added. That means, said Gilmore, that "the university is looking to us. It expects fundraising to do the job in the years ahead." He added, however, that he is at least optimistic in how good staff

Until recently, that staff of telephone canvassers included Catherine Brown, now a university admissions counselor, who, in the first 1986-1987 compensated phone-and-mail campaign, raised the first pledge—for \$140—from an alumnus who had gone to Mount Allison in the 1960s. Brown eventually raised pledges totalling \$78,800—working only two nights a week that year. Said Brown: "At first, I was just looking for a part-time job that didn't involve scrapbooking. But I got to love it. It was a good experience. The alumni were eager to talk to people who are here now. And they told me stories about their time here, how they met their wives and where they worked, that sort of thing. There was a real

Gilmore also said that he counts on the well-connected men and women who work on the capital campaign. In addition to Crawford, Crawford, volunteers include Cedric Ritchie, chairman of the Bank of Nova Scotia, grocery magnate David Sobey, chairman of Valley Stores Ltd., McGill University principal David Johnston, and Peter Dunlop, president of Maritime Telegraph & Telephone Co. Ltd. - Nova Scotia's telephone system. Said Decarie, chairman of the Atlantic region of the Mount Allison board and a 1960 engineering graduate: "Fundraising is tough. But if society gives me something, I feel I should contribute something back."

**Generations:** For his part, Robert Weir, the Montreal owner of a volunteer equivalent auto-scholarship fund, the Holden Era, who is co-ordinator of the Quebec Mount Allison campaign and belongs to one of those generations of his family that have studied at the Sackville campus, said: "You've got to do this or you'll lose it all to the ground. And this is the good. And Mount Allison was a damn fine place to be." Harvey Gilmore and his associates say that they hope that such sentiments will help the 150-year-old Mount Allison prosper for years to come.

GLEN ALLEN is in Seattle



# A new war on AIDS

Activists are gaining more access to drugs

Medical researchers have traditionally kept experimental drugs strictly until laboratory results appear conclusive. But in the past several months, the continued spread of the AIDS virus—and the frequently short lifespan of those affected by it—has concentrated a change. This month, the U.S. government is scheduled to implement what officials call a "parallel track" program under which doctors issue drugs to patients with life-threatening diseases even though formal trials are still under way. Health and Welfare Canada took a similar step last February when it relaxed its drug-release regulations. For people with AIDS, those steps are a major accomplishment. In each country, the decisions followed major lobbying efforts by activist AIDS groups. Said Timothy McCaskell, 34, chair of the Toronto-based *Act Up* group: "Because you've got a lot of people in a very close-knit community suddenly coming down with the same thing it's guaranteed kind of a window for mobilization of people that has never existed before."

In general, clinicians and researchers on both sides of the border welcomed the policy shift. But, according to Dr. Anthony Fauci, director of the Bethesda, Md.-based National Institute for Allergy and Infectious Diseases and himself a champion of the parallel track, other experts have expressed skepticism about the system. Fauci said that some clinicians worry that fewer strict controls would ensure trials of drugs could receive drugs by other means. But activists argued that covering a patient into a trial was unethical. Said Toronto activist Chad Grunfeld, 38, who donated that he had AIDS in 1985: "If a person is not interested in participating in clinical research,

there is no reason to deny him treatment. That person has a right to try to save his own life." The activists demonstrated their strength most clearly in July, following early reports of



Protester at Montreal conference, freedom

accused with a new antiretroviral drug, *didanosine*. In preliminary trials, researchers found that the substance slowed the progress of the disease with fewer toxic side effects than have been found with zalcitabine (AZT), the standard agent currently in use. But the manufacturer, New York City-based Bristol-Myers, refused to release it, claiming that researchers



had insufficient information about the drug. Activists quickly organized a picket line outside the company's Toronto office, a haven of Bristol-Myers products (including Band-Aids and Windex) and a telephone company's company offices. The result: company officials announced on July 13 that they would make *didanosine* available outside of trials.

Activists had gained traction in Montreal a month earlier at the Public International Conference on AIDS. There, they received information that a drug under trial, *zalcitabine*, might actually be harmful—and that some people entering the trials had not been fully informed about the drug. A number of groups decided to call a news conference to support the immediate release of the zalcitabine trial. But, at the last minute, according to McCaskell, the trial's principal investigator met with the group and worked out new trial policies, including appointing a person with AIDS to the steering committee of each trial.

Still, many researchers say that getting volunteers for trials—and ensuring that they adhere to the eligibility requirements by not taking any other drugs—remains essential. Said Dr. Alastair Clayton, director general of the Ottawa-based Federal Centre for AIDS: "There are not that many individuals who have AIDS and so that comes with sympathetic attention, so we have to encourage them to go on trials rather than getting the drugs through emergency drug release because then we don't learn as much."

But for people with AIDS and the activists who fight for their rights, the major issue remains access. Said McCaskell: "Whether people have access to a particular treatment through a trial or through emergency drug release or through some other mechanism is really a matter of access. Meanwhile, AIDS activists and clinicians appear to have struck a balance between careful, comprehensive trials and quick access to promising treatment. That balance, they say, will benefit not only people with AIDS, but also those with other diseases."

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## A RAY OF HOPE FOR DIABETICS

James Connor has lived with insulin-dependent diabetes for 15 years. But since he developed the disease, the 39-year-old 66-centimetre-tall man has suffered from temporary blindness, nerve damage and kidney failure. But on Feb. 24, doctors at the University of Alberta Hospital gave Connor a new hope: and 250,000 insulin-producing cells. And last week, three University of Alberta researchers announced that in the past six months, Connor and 32

year-old Kevin MacLean, also from Edmonton, were the first people to receive successful implantations of the cells. Within five weeks of the procedure, said researcher Dr. Gaele Wrenn, insulin production had improved so much that "according to medical definition, Jim and Kevin would no longer be considered insulin-dependent diabetics."

Currently, an estimated one million Canadians suffer from the disease—the third-leading cause of death, following cancer and heart disease—and every year doctors diagnose about 50,000 new cases. Diabetics who rely on the body's cells to produce insulin, which produces insulin and regulates the level of sugar in the blood. After 15 years of research, Wrenn

and his team, led by Dr. Norman Knudsen and Dr. Jay Ropke, found a way to isolate beta cells from the pancreas of a healthy donor, which they purified and implanted into the liver of the recipient.

But the doctors emphasized that the procedure was not a cure. Still, it offers hope for those with severe cases of diabetes. "We really control," said Wrenn. "This is an advance to replace an important part of the human body—we say, yet so powerful." For his part, Connor says that if the transplant were to succeed as a result of his disease, he'd be disappointed. "It's very encouraging," he said. "It's not a miracle cure—but there are lots of blessings."

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# Starting over

Ben Johnson will lose two world records

During the 16-month inquiry into drug use in Canadian sport, Mr. Justice Charles Dubé of the Ontario Superior Court has heard extensive testimony about athletes' use of performance-enhancing steroids. But the first real effect of witnesses' disclosures in Toronto emerged only last week at Barcelona. There, after 36 hours of intensive debate, members of the International Amateur Athletic Federation (IAAF) decided to revoke all records set by athletes who have admitted to using such drugs, retroactive to Jan. 1, 1984, from Jan. 1, 1996. And one of the athletes who will be affected by the ruling is Canadian sprinter Ben Johnson, who will be stripped of two world records. As a result, the IAAF will likely transfer the titles to two Americans. Johnson will lose his 100-m record to longtime rival Carl Lewis and his 60-m indoor record to Leroy McRae. Even before IAAF officials announced their decision last week, 37-year-old Johnson told a Miami newspaper: "Why should I always have to be the only one to pay? What about the others?"

For IAAF vice-president Anne Ljungqvist, who was in charge of the doping controversy at the 1988 Olympic Games in Seoul, the ruling was a step forward in her devastating battle against drugs in sports. But some critics expressed concern that the IAAF ruling would prevent other athletes from admitting to drug use. Others, including Johnson's friend and business associate Kenneth Aspin, added that the retroactive nature of the ruling was unfair—especially to the sprinter, who had in steady success in the 100-m sprint and who admitted he had taken steroids. Said Aspin: "The Canadian government had enough nerve and enough integrity to do what it did, but the federation made a mockery of it."

When Johnson took the stand on June 11, he confessed that he had started taking anabolic steroids in 1987 on the advice of his coach, Charles Francis Johnson, added that he had taken large doses of the drugs, which build muscle bulk and cut down on recovery time after strenuous exercise or competition, to prepare for the world championships in 1987. At the 1988 Olympics, International Olympic Committee officials stripped Johnson of his gold medal for the 100 m—placing it as a second-place Lewis—after finding traces of the steroid stanozolol in his urine.

But Johnson still retained the world record for 100 m, with his time of 9.83 seconds at the 1987 world track-and-field championships in Rome. With that mark now erased, however,

Lewis's time of 9.93 seconds at Seoul will stand as the world's best. Earlier in 1987, Johnson set the 60-m indoor best at the world championships in Indianapolis with 6.45 seconds. McRae will now hold the record, for his



Johnson hoping for a second chance, drug-free

time of 6.5 seconds, which he set at the same event.

Some critics, including Edward Fotherman, Johnson's lawyer throughout the Dubé inquiry, said that the ruling unfairly crippled not only Johnson. "It has created a situation where athletes in other countries will not come forward because they know the repercussions. They put a muzzle on clearing up an international problem," added Canadian sprinter Angela Hudson, who holds the world record for the 50-m indoor sprint. "If the IAAF had done this before, everyone would have gone before the Dubé inquiry and led,

No one is going to admit anything now."

Johnson and Canadian Mark McGey, who holds the world best for 50-m and 60-m indoor hurdles, testified that they have used steroids and look unlikely to lose their records. For his part, Dubé said in a statement last week that he would serve as a constant on the IAAF ruling until he had concluded his inquiry. But he said in March that he disapproved of punishing athletes who had admitted to using performance-enhancing drugs.

Following their decision last week, IAAF delegates discussed other strategies for dealing with drug use in sports. To Ljungqvist's apparent delight, the delegates agreed on a plan to implement a system of doping control officials who could fly to any country and conduct surprise tests—a concept that Ljungqvist has been promoting since 1984. Said Ljungqvist: "Now, very much due to the case of Ben Johnson, which has increased the credibility of sport, it has been possible to have this breakthrough."

Others, including Fotherman, agreed that random, out-of-competition testing was the only effective way to try to eradicate drugs. "I think the Ben Johnson accident shows we do not have effective testing," said American lawyer Eileen Moore, a member of an advisory council to the IAAF and the International Olympic Committee. "I think it's outrageous on my rights not being tested. We have to get serious with this drug problem." For his part, IAAF president Primo Nebeloni last week put forward the idea of setting up an inquiry into a punishment for lawyers, agents and coaches who provide athletes with drugs. "Be sure that we will do something," said Nebeloni. "Be sure." Still, Ljungqvist said that the solution to the drug problem required a change of attitude. "If we consider and recognize results achieved by 'contaminated' drug-users," he declared, "we can never change that attitude."

The events of the past year already appear to have changed Johnson's attitude. Said Fotherman: "This is the first time that he knows the important thing is the future, not the past. Now, he has an opportunity to make a fresh start." In June, at the Dubé inquiry, Johnson testified: "If I get a chance to compete again, I want to say that drugs didn't make me run fast. I could run without drugs. I could beat anybody in the world if I get the chance." This new reason to prove

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## BOOKS

# Stardust memories

*Chronicling chance encounters with the stars*

BRUSHES WITH GREATNESS

Edited by Russell Banks, Michael Ondaatje, and David Young  
(Coach House Press, \$16.95, 190 pages)

In the 1960s, Andy Warhol cannot the adage "In the future everyone will be famous for 15 minutes." A new book about chance encounters with celebrities, however, is based on the assumption that the famous will always occupy a secure chronicle. *Brushes With Greatness* offers 40 anecdotes about meetings with such luminaries as Willie Mays, John Lennon, Pierre Trudeau and Greta Garbo. Related by a mixture of ordinary folk and such well-known writers as Timothy Winton, the stories range from the silly (meeting to the overnight newspaper) but they are all about fame, the one attribute that, as Russell Banks points out, "Mother Teresa shares with Howard Cosell."

In his witty introduction, Banks notes the variability of memory and observes that the most elemental human emotions—love, envy, anger and sadness—underpin the stories. *Brushes*, too, makes a brief appearance as an observation by a homosexual man who sees a curious sexual contact listed as one of many AIDS casualties in a *Newsworld* story. The shortest and funniest is Canadian poet Sharon Thesen's meeting with her. "I once lived with a man whose co-wife had had an affair with Sunny Bono." The most vivid description of star impact is one man's boyhood experience of seeing a drunken theatre beside Marilyn Monroe. Trying to convey the job he felt when she smiled at him, he writes how, years later, lightning struck his house. "It came in through the open door, spot-welded the shimmering pot to the stove, short-circuited the dishwasher, exploded the lights and, cracking, splitting, left. This was like that."

The strength of that single contrast sharply with some surprisingly convoluted accounts by usually articulate people. writer Joyce Carol Oates's meeting with Mohamed Ali resembles to its overwrought conclusion. *Brushes With Greatness*, too slight for book-length treatment, is like a story that evokes helpful laughter as the narrator but leaves the bitter cold. Many of the anecdotes prompt a shrug and the sense that "you had to be there."

DEANE TURKHEE

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## PEOPLE

### TO THINE OWN SELF BE TRUE

After *Real Julia* says that, while playing Archbishop Oscar Romero was a transcendent challenge, he does not want it to become his trademark. The Puerto Rican-born actor said that he wanted to play the Salvadoran human rights activist who was murdered in 1980, not because of any political beliefs, but because the role required a transformation from a timid priest into a courageous leader.



Julia: "I leave messages to Western Class." says Julia. "I just want to be seen as an actor."

"I did it for the role—I leave messages to Western Class," added Julia, 46, of *Romero*, which opens on Oct. 6. "I don't ever want to be identified with anybody," says Julia. "I just want to be seen as an actor."

### Set changes

After six months of playing a 19th-century prostitute, actress Louise Linton says that it was still a "shock" to play a modern-day stripper. *Pier* recently took a break from playing *Pier* as the Toronto production of *Les Misérables* to star in an evening dance alongside Megan Follows and Shelley Long. *Pier* had to become more extroverted, said the 39-year-old Linton, Oct. 10, who replaced *Pier*'s previous costar with a sleepless mind. "I had to become Megan to strip first," *Pier* added, "but then I relaxed."



*Pier*: A modern-day stripper

### Singing the blues for writers

There is much more to Canadian jazz singer Salome Ray than her powerhouse voice. But the Toronto resident, who has written a yet-to-be-produced musical, *Remembered*, about a street child yearning for a better future, said that

her fans only want to hear her sing the blues. "People have put me into a box, but I want these things I've written to get exposed," she added. Freedom of expression is an issue that is close to her heart, said Ray, 44, who is performing at the Sept. 24 Toronto Jazz-festival gala to

Ray: Freedom of expression



### The power of seduction

After *Real Julia* says that, while playing Archbishop Oscar Romero was a transcendent challenge, he does not want it to become his trademark. The Puerto Rican-born actor said that he wanted to play the Salvadoran human rights activist who was murdered in 1980, not because of any political beliefs, but because the role required a transformation from a timid priest into a courageous leader.

Capshaw: "sassy"

### FOR BETTER OR WORSE

Vancouver multimillionaire Murray Pines is about to break a solemn vow—to remain a bachelor. The 54-year-old 66-year-old mogul-sports promoter, who publicly declared after his long-term separation on January 1994 that he would never remarry, now says that he plans a return trip to the altar. "I know I said I wouldn't marry again—I lied," said Pines after announcing his engagement to Tammy Patrick, 37, a former stockbroker and self-acknowledged reformed cocaine addict. Meanwhile, Pines has acquired another new interest: football. The entrepreneur, who is also backing former NFL star Mark Gastineau's quest to become a lawyer, last month bought the debt-ridden B.C. Lions football club for \$1.7 million. It seems that Pines will gladly pay to leave screenplays to the professionals.



launched the 54th International PBS World Congress. The concert, which also features guitarist Lenny Kravitz and singer Edith Butler, is in aid of miners imprisoned around the world for expressing controversial ideas. Said Ray: "I can understand how other writers feel when they can't get out there and say what they want to say."







# Sorry, it must have been the gin

BY ALLAN FOTHERINGHAM

**T**his is dedicated to the poor Whumping man, never long forgotten, the loon-chap who was so many years ago as to write this here sheet and plead that the Canadian public should be shielded, if yet again from another skidding tractor as to what Dr. Poth did on his summer holiday. Some hope.

What the madcapotes follow did (once) set rattle a dust, while improving the pace of the world's greatest genetic tennis marvel, the small brain transplanted on my Pacific island approves the intelligence of the nation. It is a chance to plumb the minds, each and every, of the denizens of my island that is on all the shores of Bill Vander Zog's crimson. No schools are available, once we get there, there is a suitcase on my Newton, while going, and comes out of the to tell a story bit at a time.

There is made from the small children who are monstrous and always know when Col Mustard did it in the dining room, the peculiar form of tennis played by the ladies on the island. The ladies gather on the two corners of two-oh—because at two-oh, it is called—into a game that is called Sorry. When they ball a shot they say Sorry to their partner. When they make a sugar of a shot that buzzes their opponent, they say Sorry. You cannot keep track of the score since there are so many people trying to say Sorry. It is sport-by-Sorry-by-Dix, muscles according to Miss Manners. It is most puzzling. I attempt to extract them that they are allowed when accused or embarrassed, to say another word, starting with the same letter, but they continue to say Sorry. It is very strange.

After hours at two-oh, they all relax somewhere for a day. Since I have never been invited, I do not know if they say Sorry every time someone pulls the vermox. But I suspect.

There are very different things on my island. One heavy letter goes down to Washington to tell up an situation once positive results on lumber exports. Another goes out in the woods, a Viking helmet on his head complete with horns, and shoots deer with a bow and arrow so we can enjoy a barbecue with friends.



The guy with the horns has the better track record.

These are excursions to other islands, some close at the edge of the frontier, where the elemental battle of life are carried out, far from the Pizarro and tree houses of Toronto, which stands of itself at the top of civilization. Out there, people get into the down and dirty, much in the confusion, finding the heavy machinery of the loggers and the loggers, in retaliation, having done the customary bell. Things are not dull. This is not there; but there is a nice undercurrent of gentle violence.

There is much empty space that people fight over a single tree. It makes you think. Here in the mainland, nothing surprises. This turf has produced not only Nelson Skalben and Vander Zog, but now scoundrels Merry Potts, The Nose That Walks Like a Man. Some scoundrels ago, when a blushing Bay Street cleaned up its reputation after a

scam or six, The Puz was encouraged with justice Earl Glick to land west and arrived on Howe Street. Vancouver's penny-stock over track, where they were promissively referred to, by those who knew and loved them, as Steady and Sack. I once reminded The Puz during a TV interview, of this and he looked at me like a cocker spaniel that had just been kicked under the table. His nose of innocent integrity would bring tears from a son.

All virtue, as we know, is rewarded, and The Puz, ran out of steady Tacoma on a red, as now not only a glorious drunk to Howe Street but—mirabile dicta!—in the arms of local society, having just purchased the crown jewels of The Village on the Edge of the Rain Forest commonly known as the B.C. Lions, a fine football club that has been so badly run that one would assume it was under the jurisdiction of Howe Street alchemists who made a living by selling to impoverished and even worse persons in the far beyond that will never see a prospectus.

My people on my island are above such things, but there is something suitably appropriate that Merry Potts, who would have been turned away at the best Toronto tennis clubs years ago because of the lack of a shirt on his shoulders, is now the selection of the Canadian Football League (and therefore Canada, since Herold Ballard has surrendered) what while we had left at the Wholen of Hockey, Metal Leaf Gardens).

Insignia the softness of the core of the country, commonly known in Toronto, since the Haggard Agonomists are now owned by Merry Potts, a hustler from Vancouver who started out in the same low esteem as The Puz, a gilder who would sell his dogs if necessary to pay the rent and wait on to St. Louis and California to make a healthy and eventually to return to the gold mine that is called the SkyDome.

It says something. No one on my island once mentioned a March Lake (which is closed). No one talks about the Marston inquiry into stolen jewelry or the Alberta Triple E plan for Stearns reform. No one once mentioned the Quebec election, I could have been in Alberta, but true.

But wisdom always comes on its island, surrounded as it is by water and cities. Toronto is now so surrounded by wealth and intelligence that the archness is self-evident—but the gaps also have saved first the Agnos and now the GIs, are chips who would serve in a thousand years have been accepted by the pretty period dresses at the right Toronto clubs. I mean, I just sit on my island and wonder. It must be the gin.



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